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DIE ENTSTEHUNG DER SINAISCHRIFT UND DES PHÖNIZISCHEN ALPHABETS

Von AMELJA HERTZ, Warsaw, Poland

Von den vielen Lehnschriften, die zu verschiedenen Zeiten in verschiedenen Weltteilen entstanden sind, hat keine eine so umfangreiche Polemik hervorgerufen, wie das phönizische Alphabet und die Sinaischrift.

Da die Schaffung dieser Schriften ein folgenschwerer Schritt war, der schließlich zu unserem heutigen außerordentlich praktischen und zweckmäßigen Alphabet führte, so ist das Interesse leicht verständlich, das sie erweckt haben, doch darf ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart uns nicht vergessen lassen, daß sie beide schließlich nur Lehnschriften sind, die nicht anders zustande gekommen sein konnten, wie andere Schriften dieser Art. Wir wollen daher bei anderen Lehnschriften, die uns bekannt sind, vor allem bei denen, über deren Ursprung wir genau unterrichtet sind, Belehrung darüber suchen, wie es wohl dazu gekommen ist, daß aus den komplizierten ägyptischen Hieroglyphen das einfache phönizische Alphabet entstanden ist.

Wir beginnen unsere Untersuchung mit der Beschreibung der modernen Lehnschriften, über deren Entstehung und Entwicklung wir die besten Angaben besitzen. Es sind dies: die Schrift der Cherokee, der Vei und der Bamum.

Die Schrift der Cherokee.

Im Jahre 1824 bildete der Cherokee-Indianer Sikwâ'ya eine Schrift für seine Muttersprache. Er wurde auf die Bedeutung und das Wesen der Schrift durch einen europäischen Kriegsgefangenen aufmerksam gemacht, bei dem er einen Brief fand. Doch erst als er zum Krüppel geworden war, ging er ernstlich daran, eine Schrift für die Cherokee-Sprache zu schaffen.

Da er weder schreiben noch lesen konnte, übernahm er nicht das lateinische Alphabet, was entschieden das einfachste gewesen wäre, sondern nur das Prinzip, daß Lautwerte durch konventionelle Zeichen übermittelt werden. So entstand eine reine Silbenschrift. Als Zeichen verwendete Sikwâ'ya lateinische Buchstaben, die er einer Bibel entnahm und die bei ihm den Wert von Silben haben. Da die Zahl dieser Buchstaben aber für die Silbenzeichen nicht ausreichte, deren es im ganzen 86 gibt, so half er sich dadurch, daß er Buchstaben in verschiedenen Varianten einführte und auch einige Zeichen selbst bildete.

Die Schrift fand mannigfache Anwendung, es wurde sogar eine Zeitung und Bücher darin gedruckt, hauptsächlich aber benützten sie die Schamanen zur Aufzeichnung religiöser Gesänge und Zauberformeln.

Die Schrift der Vei.

Im Jahre 1834 schuf der Vei-Neger Momoru Doalu Bukere eine Schrift für die Vei-Sprache. Die Anregung dazu gaben ihm europäische und arabische Schriften, die er gesehen hatte.

Da er, wie Sikwâ'ya, nicht lesen konnte, so erfaßte er nur das Prinzip der Schrift. Die Zeichen seines Systems entsprechen Silben, doch kommen auch Buchstaben für die Vokale *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* und für die Nasale *m* und *n* vor, die, wie in allen isolierenden Sudansprachen, auch bei den Vei Vertreter selbständiger Wurzeln sind. Daneben gibt es auch einige Zeichen für mehrsilbige Wörter.

Die Zeichenformen sind außerordentlich labil und verändern sich unaufhörlich, so daß die jüngere Generation die Schrift der älteren kaum verstehen kann, doch gehen auch in der ältesten uns bekannten Fassung nur wenige von ihnen auf rohe Bilder von Gegenständen zurück. Zeichen, die an arabische oder lateinische Buchstaben erinnern, kommen überhaupt nicht vor.

Die Verwendung der Schrift ist ziemlich beschränkt, da die Vei sie eigentlich gar nicht brauchen.

Die Schrift der Bamum.

Kurz nach der Einnahme von Kamerun durch die Deutschen entstand, wahrscheinlich schon um 1899, auf Befehl und unter Leitung des Königs Njoya von Bamum eine Schrift, die dem König ermöglichen sollte, sich mit seinen Häuptlingen zu verständigen, ohne daß die deutschen Behörden imstande wären, ihn zu kontrollieren.

Njoya konnte weder schreiben noch lesen, hatte aber europäische und arabische Schriften gesehen und das Prinzip der Schrift durch sie kennengelernt. Er gab seinen Vornehmen den Befehl, eine Anzahl Zeichen für die Bamum-Sprache zu erfinden, aus denen er dann, von drei von seinen Beratern unterstützt, eine Auswahl traf.

Die Bamum-Schrift bestand ursprünglich aus 348 teils Wort-, teils Silbenzeichen. Sie stellten meistens rohe Bilder von Gegenständen dar, die irgendwie den Sinnwert der Zeichen ausdrückten. So schrieb man z. B. eine Schote für das Wort *khun* = Bohne, oder einen Teller mit etwas Speise für *yu* = Essen.

Damit hat sich aber Njoya nicht zufrieden gegeben. Er änderte ununterbrochen sein Schriftsystem, indem er einerseits seinen Zeichen immer einfachere Formen gab, um sie für den Schriftgebrauch geeigneter zu machen, und andererseits sich bemühte, von einer gemischten Wort- und Silbenschrift zu einer reinen Silben- und in den letzten Zeiten sogar zu einer Buchstabenschrift zu gelangen.

Wir sehen, daß in allen drei hier beschriebenen Fällen die Initiative der Entlehnung von einem einzelnen ausgegangen ist.

Dasselbe können wir auch von zwei Alphabeten sagen, dem gotischen und slawischen (Cyrillica), die im frühen Mittelalter entstanden sind und auf einer ziemlich weitgehenden Umformung der lateinischen, eventuell griechischen Schrift beruhen. Das erste wurde von dem westgotischen Bischof Ulfilas im 4., das zweite vom heiligen Cyrillus (Konstantin) am Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts gebildet.

Wir wissen nicht, wie andere Lehnsschriften entstanden sind. Wenn aber in allen uns bekannten Fällen der Gedanke, eine Schrift nach irgendeinem Muster für eine Sprache zu schaffen, in der bis dahin nicht geschrieben wurde, immer von einem einzelnen ausging, so dürfen wir wohl den Schluß ziehen, daß das Entlehnen einer Schrift immer so verlaufen ist.

Der Grund zu einer Schriftentlehnung ist in den persönlichen Umständen des Entlehners zu suchen, in denen selbstverständlich der Zufall die ausschlaggebende Rolle spielt. Infolgedessen wird die Ermittlung dieses Grundes, wenn wir ihn durch Überlieferung nicht kennen, nur in den seltensten Fällen möglich sein.

Dagegen können wir mit Sicherheit behaupten, daß der Anstoß zu einer Schriftentlehnung immer nur durch das Betrachten von Schriftstücken gegeben wird, die der Entlehner zwar nicht zu verstehen braucht, deren Zweck er aber erfaßt haben muß.

Was den Charakter der Lehnsschrift anbetrifft, so ist nach Einführung der außerordentlich praktischen Buchstabenschrift immer wieder doch nur eine vollständige Übernahme derselben erfolgt mit mehr oder minder starker Umänderung der Zeichenformen und eventuellem Zusatz von einigen Buchstaben oder Buchstabenkombinationen, die den vom Lateinischen oder Griechischen abweichenden Lautwerten der Sprache Rechnung trugen.¹ Einschneidende Änderungen erfolgen nur, wenn der Schriftentlehner, wie in den drei hier beschriebenen Fällen, die ihm als Vorbild dienende Buchstabenschrift nicht genügend kannte. Es entstand dann, wie wir gesehen haben, eine reine Silben-, eventuell eine gemischte Silben- und Wortschrift, die beide die einfachsten Lösungen des Problems zu sein scheinen, konventionelle Zeichen für die Lautwerte einer Sprache zu schaffen. Wir kennen nämlich außer den drei hier beschriebenen noch viele andere Lehnsschriften dieser Art. So ist z. B. das japanische Kata-kana, dem die chinesische Wortschrift als Vorbild gedient hat, eine reine Silbenschrift.

Bei weitem mehr Willkür und Abwechslung als in dem Charakter der Schrift kommt bei den Zeichenformen vor. Dieselben gehen bei Lehnsschriften oft vollständig oder wenigstens teilweise auf die Zeichen ihrer Vorlage zurück, können aber auch mit denselben nicht die geringste Ähnlichkeit haben.

So z. B. sind nur bei einer der hier angeführten Lehnsschriften, der Schrift der Cherokee, die lateinischen Buchstaben wenigstens teilweise verwendet worden, die beiden anderen gebrauchen teils rohe Bilder von Gegenständen, teils irgendwelche bedeutungslose Zeichen.

Interessant ist auch der Vergleich zwischen der nationalen Schrift der Germanen, den Runen, und dem von den Kelten Großbritanniens geschaffenen Ogham. Beides sind Buchstabenschriften, entstanden unter dem Einflusse südeuropäischer Alphabete ungefähr im 1. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert. Ursprünglich wurden die Runen sicher, das Ogham wahrscheinlich, auf Holz geritzt, aber während die ersteren eine große Ähnlichkeit mit ihrem Vorbilde zeigen und nur soweit umgeändert worden sind, als es das Material nötig machte, für das sie bestimmt waren, bestehen die Zeichen des Oghams aus Kombinationen von senkrechten und schrägen Linien, die nicht im mindesten an lateinische oder griechische Buchstaben erinnern.

¹ Die einzige mir hier bekannte Ausnahme ist die Achemenidenkeilschrift.

Das ist nichts Unerwartetes. Nirgends hat die Phantasie der Schriftentlehner Gelegenheit, sich so leicht und mühelos zu betätigen, als bei dem Schaffen verschiedener Zeichenformen. Hemmend wirkt nur das Material, für das die Schrift bestimmt ist, und das kulturelle Niveau der Entlehner. Sonst steht es ihnen frei, so oft und so viele von ihren Zeichen zu ändern, wie es ihnen beliebt. Und sie tun es ziemlich häufig mit Grund, wie bei den Bamum, oder ohne Grund, wie bei den Vei.

Auch bei den vielen Schriften Indiens und Hinterindiens hat man keine Mühe gescheut, um Abwechslung in die Zeichenformen zu bringen. Alle diese Schriften stammen aus dem Devanâgari, also letzten Endes aus dem aramäischen Alphabet, haben alle denselben Charakter (ihre Konsonanten werden vorzugsweise bezeichnet und die Vokale nur durch Beifügung untergeordneter Zeichen, wie Striche, Punkte u. dgl. ausgedrückt), zeigen aber sehr starke Abweichungen in ihren Zeichenformen.

Aus dem Gesagten geht hervor, daß, wenn wir eine fertige Lehn-schrift untersuchen, um zu erfahren, nach welchem Vorbilde sie geschaffen worden ist, wir die Ähnlichkeiten, nicht aber die Unterschiede berücksichtigen müssen.

Es kommt z. B. vor, daß eine Lehn-schrift die charakteristischen Züge ihrer Vorlage, nicht aber ihre Zeichen übernimmt (das Ogham), oder umgekehrt, sie weist mit ihrem Vorbilde teilweise sogar vollständige Übereinstimmung in den Zeichenformen auf, hat aber einen ganz anderen Charakter (Schrift der Cherokee).

Merkwürdigerweise hat man gegenüber der phönizischen Schrift immer nur dieses letzte Kriterium anwenden wollen, und zwar in einem Umfange, wie es unserer Erfahrung nach nur bei vollständiger Übernahme eines Schriftsystems, nicht aber bei einer mit einschneidender Umänderung verbundenen Entlehnung vorkommen kann: alle Zeichen des phönizischen Alphabets sollten auf die entsprechenden ägyptischen Buchstaben zurückgehen, und als dies selbstverständlich nicht nachzuweisen war, begann man, wo anders als in Ägypten den Ursprung der Buchstabenschrift zu suchen. Ja, man ging und geht noch sogar so weit, daß man, weil aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ein paar Zeichen des phönizischen Alphabets frei erfunden worden sind (wie es selbst bei Sikwâ'ya vorkommt), überhaupt den Gedanken, ein Wort beim Schreiben durch seine Konsonanten auszudrücken, als selbständige Errungenschaft der Phönizier darstellte.

Ich glaube gezeigt zu haben, daß gerade die Zeichenformen am meisten von der Willkür des Entlehners abhängen, und daß Divergenzen in dieser Richtung absolut nichts beweisen, ja, bei größeren Umänderungen im Charakter der Schrift direkt zu erwarten sind.

Das phönizische Alphabet und die Sinaischrift bestehen aus einem sehr wesentlichen und sehr charakteristischen Bestandteil der ägyptischen Hieroglyphen, den Konsonantenzeichen, die im Augenblicke der Entstehung dieser Schriften nirgends sonst auf der Welt vorkommen. Damit ist auch entschieden, was hier als Vorbild gedient hatte, und es kann uns vollständig gleichgültig sein, ob die einzelnen Zeichen der Sinaischrift und des phönizischen Alphabets Ähnlichkeit mit den Hieroglyphen haben oder nicht; denn das hing ausschließlich von der Laune der entsprechenden Schrifterfinder ab, deren Gedankengänge wir heute nicht mehr zu rekonstruieren vermögen.

Gerade so klar ist der Zusammenhang zwischen der Sinaischrift und dem phönizischen Alphabet. Die Hieroglyphen waren selbständig in Ägypten entstanden und daher so eng mit dem Ägyptischen verwachsen, daß sie ohne Umänderung nicht für eine andere Sprache verwendet werden konnten, doch brauchte diese Umänderung nicht notwendigerweise zu einer reinen Konsonantenschrift zu führen. Es gab hier noch andere Möglichkeiten. Wir haben gesehen, daß aus unserem Alphabet eine Silbenschrift und gemischte Silben- und Wortschriften entstanden sind. Dasselbe konnte auch bei einer Entlehnung aus der ägyptischen Schrift vorgekommen sein und ist tatsächlich geschehen, denn die kretischen Hieroglyphen, die unter ihrem Einfluß entstanden sind, bestehen in ihrer ursprünglichen Fassung aus 135 Zeichen, sind also aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach eine gemischte Silben- und Wortschrift.

Bestehen daher die Schriften auf dem Sinai und in Phönizien nur oder wenigstens überwiegend aus Konsonantenzeichen, so ist schon damit der Zusammenhang zwischen ihnen bewiesen, selbst wenn ihre Zeichen nicht die mindeste Ähnlichkeit miteinander hätten. Nun ist das keineswegs der Fall. Nach der grundlegenden Arbeit GARDINERS wissen wir ganz sicher, daß zwei Buchstaben, die in Phönizien *beth* (Haus) und *ajin* (Auge) heißen, auf dem Sinai durch ein Haus und ein Auge ausgedrückt werden, und daß die Zeichen für *taw* in beiden Schriften identisch und die für *lamed* ähnlich sind, ganz abgesehen von einer Menge weniger gut begründeter, aber äußerst wahrscheinlicher Gleichsetzungen. Absolute Übereinstimmung in den

Zeichenformen ist nicht nur überflüssig, um den Zusammenhang zu beweisen, sondern war, wie gesagt, nicht einmal zu erwarten. Wir werden später noch auf diese Frage zurückkommen.

Der Zusammenhang zwischen dem phönizischen Alphabet und der Sinaischrift unterliegt also keinem Zweifel. Es ist aber auf den ersten Blick weniger klar, ob das phönizische Alphabet aus der Sinaischrift oder die Sinaischrift aus dem phönizischen Alphabet entstanden ist. Wir dürfen nämlich ein für allemal bei Entlehnungserscheinungen nicht nach Entwicklungsreihen suchen, die nur bei einer selbständigen Entstehung zu erwarten sind. Die größte Rolle bei einer Entlehnung spielt die Person des Entlehners und sein Kulturniveau. Je höher dieses ist, desto vollkommener wird das nachgeahmte Werkzeug sein. Finden wir daher bei zwei verschiedenen Völkern ein von einem Dritten entlehntes Werkzeug in einer roheren und einer verfeinerten Form, so sagt uns das nur, daß das Kulturniveau dieser beiden Völker im Augenblicke der Entlehnung verschieden war, nicht aber in welcher Reihenfolge die Entlehnung erfolgt ist. Im allgemeinen wird sogar, falls ein Zusammenhang existiert, die vollkommenere Form die ursprüngliche sein, da es wahrscheinlicher ist, daß ein tiefer stehendes Volk von einem höher stehenden etwas übernimmt, als umgekehrt. Doch dürfen wir dies nur bei selbständigen Erfindungen, nicht bei Entlehnungen als Regel betrachten.

Auch die größere Ähnlichkeit der Zeichen der Sinaischrift mit den ägyptischen Hieroglyphen beweist gar nichts.

Der Vorgang kann sehr gut so gedacht werden: In Phönizien unternahm ein findiger Kopf die Umänderung der ägyptischen Hieroglyphen, um sie für seine Sprache verwendbar zu machen. Er behielt nur die Konsonantenzeichen bei, gab ihnen willkürliche Formen, wobei er nur darauf bedacht war, daß sie sich für das Schreiben auf Papyrus eigneten, der schon längst in Kanaan in Gebrauch war, und benannte sie ohne Rücksicht auf ihre Gestalt mit Namen, die mit dem entsprechenden Buchstaben beginnen.² Diese Schrift kam nun mit ihren Buchstabennamen auf den Sinai, wo sie die Nomaden übernahmen. Doch da sie dieselbe vor allem auf Stein ritzen oder meißeln wollten, so entlehnten sie ihre Zeichen aus den ägyptischen

² Dieses Benennen der Zeichen eines Alphabets mit Namen, die mit den entsprechenden Buchstaben beginnen, ohne daß diese Namen der Gestalt der Zeichen entsprechen, muß etwas sehr Naheliegendes sein, denn es ist aus Mitteleuropa allein dreimal belegt, bei der Cyrillica, dem Ogham und den Runen.

Inschriften, die sie in Hülle und Fülle in Serabât el Chadem und Wadi Maghara hatten, wobei sie für jeden Buchstaben das Bild dieses Gegenstandes wählten, mit dem er benannt war.

So plausibel auch diese Erklärung für den Zusammenhang zwischen dem phönizischen Alphabet und der Sinaischrift klingt, sie ist doch nicht die richtige, denn es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß das phönizische Alphabet aus der Sinaischrift entstanden ist, und zwar aus folgendem Grunde:

Die Hieroglyphen sind, wie schon gesagt wurde, so eng mit dem Ägyptischen verknüpft, daß eine Anwendung derselben für eine andere Sprache ohne Umänderung nicht möglich ist. Darum war in der Hälfte des 2. vorchristlichen Jahrtausends in der ganzen zivilisierten Welt die Keilschrift in Gebrauch, mit Ausnahme von Kreta, wo sich schon bedeutend früher unter ägyptischem Einfluß eine Schrift ausgebildet hatte. Die Keilschrift, die selber durch Entlehnung entstanden war, ließ sich ohneweiters für alle Sprachen ohne Unterschied der Abstammung verwenden und war ein recht brauchbares Werkzeug, das die Schriftbedürfnisse der damaligen Zeit nicht nur befriedigte, sondern bei weitem überstieg.³ Das sehen wir daraus, daß keine Versuche zu ihrer Vereinfachung unternommen wurden, man übernahm sie mit ihren Wortzeichen, Ideogrammgruppen, Polyphonien. Erst die Perser führten weitgehende Änderungen ein, aber diese sind schon dem Einflusse des aramäischen Alphabets oder der kyprischen Schrift zuzuschreiben.

Es ist daher vollständig ausgeschlossen, daß jemand, der die Keilschrift benutzte, und das tat man sicher in Kanaan seit der XVIII. ägyptischen Dynastie und vielleicht noch früher, auf den Gedanken kommen sollte, nach einem geeigneteren Werkzeug zu suchen, wenn er schon ein besseres besaß, als er nötig hatte. Dabei ist zu bedenken, daß kein Mensch genial genug sein konnte, um vorausszusehen, zu welchen glänzenden Resultaten eine zweckmäßige Umänderung der ägyptischen Schrift führen würde, die zunächst für eine andere Sprache gar nicht verwendbar zu sein scheint.

Die aussichtslose Arbeit einer solchen Umänderung konnte nur jemand unternehmen, der eben keine andere Schrift kannte. Darum haben wir direkte Entlehnungen aus der ägyptischen Schrift nur auf

³ Wieviel mehr als genügend die Keilschrift für den Schriftgebrauch dieser Zeiten sein mußte, zeigt uns das heutige Japan, das moderne wissenschaftliche und technische Werke in einem noch komplizierteren Schriftsystem druckt.

Kreta, wo die Hieroglyphen in der Zeit der XI. Dynastie entstanden sind, als sich der babylonische Einfluß noch nicht genügend geltend gemacht hatte, und auf dem Sinai, dessen Nomaden außerhalb der zivilisierten Welt lebten und daher die allgemein gebrauchte Keilschrift nicht kannten.

Einen zweiten Beweis dafür, daß die Sinaischrift das Vorbild und das phönizische Alphabet die Nachahmung war, gibt KALINKA in seinem interessanten Aufsatz in *Klio* XVI, S. 302 ff., in dem er zeigt, daß die Buchstabenzeichen der Konsonantenschrift auf Bilder von Gegenständen zurückgehen, die im Nomadenleben eine Rolle spielen.

Ich habe oben gesagt, daß die Form der Zeichen einer Lehschrift von dem Kulturniveau ihres Schöpfers abhängt. Dies bezieht sich nicht nur auf ihre mehr oder minder rohe Ausführung, sondern auch, falls es sich um Bilder von Gegenständen handelt, auf die Wahl dieser Gegenstände, die selbstverständlich aus dem engsten Ideenkreis des Entlehners stammen müssen. Dies wird durch die geistreichen Ausführungen KALINKAS bestätigt.

Die Konsonantenschrift ist also auf dem Sinai entstanden. Den Grund der Schriftentlehnung können wir natürlich nicht wissen, doch was die Anregung dazu gegeben hat, wird uns nach Beschreibung des ehemaligen ägyptischen Minenbezirkes sofort klar werden.

Am Ende des 19. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts befanden sich in Wadi Maghara noch 45⁴ und in Serabît el Chadem 14 ägyptische Felseninschriften. Außerdem war in Serabît el Chadem ein schöner, ungefähr 80 m langer Tempel der Hathor und des Spdw mit beschriebenen Wänden, Säulen, Stelen, Statuen, von dem wir noch heute fast 300 Inschriftenbruchstücke besitzen.

Das war also das große Buch, das irgendeinen Nomaden auf den Gedanken gebracht, eine Schrift für seine Sprache zu schaffen und ihm die Zeichen dazu geliefert hat. Die Entstehung der Schrift gerade in Serabît el Chadem müssen wir nicht der Anwesenheit eines Volkes zuschreiben, das irgendwie mit Ägypten in engerer Verbindung gewesen ist, sondern dem Orte selbst. Denn nirgends sonst auf der Welt, auch nicht im Minendistrikt von Nubien, waren auf einem Nomaden zugänglichen Boden so viele ägyptische Inschriften angehäuft worden, die die Neugierde der Barbaren erregen und sie eventuell zur Nachahmung reizen konnten.

⁴ Jetzt ist ihre Zahl bedeutend kleiner, da am Anfang unseres Jahrhunderts viele dieser Inschriften bei einem Versuch, die Minen wieder auszubeuten, zerstört wurden.

Wollen wir jetzt den Vorgang der Schriftentlehnung zu rekonstruieren versuchen.

Mit Recht hat Herr Geheimrat SETHE behauptet, daß das Anbringen der Inschriften in einem Augenblick erfolgt war, wo die Nomaden sich in Serabât el Chadem frei bewegen konnten und sie, nicht die Ägypter, die Minen ausbeuteten.

Es ist nicht anzunehmen, daß sie Kupfer ausschmolzen, da sie kaum die dazu nötigen technischen Kenntnisse besaßen. Auch wäre das viel weniger lohnend gewesen, als das Suchen nach Türkisen, das die Sinaibeduinen bis fast zur Gegenwart betrieben haben. Übrigens galten auch den Ägyptern diese Halbedelsteine als das Hauptprodukt des Sinai.

So ist es am wahrscheinlichsten, daß die Nomaden, die uns die Inschriften hinterlassen haben, sich an den Minen der Türkisen wegen aufhielten, die sie später weiterverkauften. Als Abnehmer kamen hier die nächsten zivilisierten Nachbarn in Betracht, Ägypter und Phönizier. Doch konnte Ägypten in jenen Zeiten kein Kunde für Luxusware sein, da ein vollständiges Verlassen der Sinaiminen immer ein Zeichen von inneren Wirren und Schwäche war.

So stammten wohl die einzigen Kaufleute, mit denen die Nomaden in Berührung kamen, aus Phönizien, und zwar vielleicht aus Byblos, weil dort die beiden uns bis jetzt bekannten ältesten phönizischen Inschriften gefunden worden sind.

Während des Aufenthaltes im Minenbezirk kam nun einer von den Nomaden, angeregt durch den Anblick so vieler und so schöner ägyptischer Inschriften, auf den ehrgeizigen Gedanken, in seiner eigenen Sprache derartiges anzufertigen.

Konnte er wenigstens notdürftig ägyptisch schreiben? Ganz ausgeschlossen ist es nicht, aber sehr wenig wahrscheinlich.

So erregt es starkes Mißtrauen zu seiner Schreibkunst, daß er den Wert der ägyptischen Zeichen ebensowenig berücksichtigt, wie Sikwâ'ya den der lateinischen, und Konsonanten, Wortzeichen und sogar Determinative als Buchstaben verwendet.

Auch die sehr große Vereinfachung der Schrift macht den Eindruck, als ob ihm die ganze Kompliziertheit der ägyptischen Hieroglyphen verborgen geblieben wäre und er von ihnen nur gewußt hätte, daß man ein Wort durch Zeichen ausdrücken kann, die dessen Konsonanten entsprechen.

Ich wiederhole noch einmal, ich will die Möglichkeit, daß der Schriftentlehner auf dem Sinai ägyptisch schreiben konnte, nicht vollständig in Abrede stellen, doch dem Tatsachenbestand entspricht jedenfalls die Annahme besser, daß er sich nur eingehend über die Hieroglyphen bei den phönizischen Kaufleuten erkundigt hatte, mit denen er beim Verkauf der Türkisen in Berührung gekommen ist.

Ist die Sinaischrift eine reine Konsonantenschrift? Auch das läßt sich nicht leicht verneinen oder bejahen.

PETRIE hat in der Sinaischrift 32 verschiedene Zeichen gefunden, das phönizische Alphabet besteht nur aus 22 Buchstaben, und wir werden bei den Sinainomaden eher eine kleinere Zahl erwarten, da es wenig wahrscheinlich ist, daß sie imstande waren, ähnlich lautende Buchstaben auseinanderzuhalten. So sieht es fast aus, als ob wir auch einige Wortzeichen und Determinative in der Sinaischrift hätten.

Doch sind vielleicht manchmal dieselben Konsonanten in verschiedenen Inschriften durch verschiedene Zeichen ausgedrückt worden. Bei der geringen Stabilität der Zeichenformen barbarischer Lehnsschriften, wie wir sie bei den Vei und den Bamum gesehen haben, und den sicher nicht ganz kleinen Zeiträumen, die die semitischen Sinaiinschriften voneinander trennen, ist diese Annahme nicht einfach von der Hand zu weisen. Wie wir aber diese verhältnismäßig große Zahl der Zeichen der Sinaischrift erklären wollen, eines ist sicher: der Hauptbestand dieser Schrift sind die Konsonantenzeichen.

Was die weitere Entwicklung des Alphabets anbetrifft, so konnte nur jemand die Sinaischrift übernehmen und sie für die phönizische Sprache verwenden, der für rohe, von Barbaren angeführte Zeichen genug Interesse besaß, um darüber die Nomaden eingehend zu befragen, und imstande war, den praktischen Wert einer nur aus Konsonanten bestehenden Schrift zu erkennen. Beides zeugt aber nicht nur von einem regen Geist, sondern auch von Bildung. Wir werden daher annehmen dürfen, daß er sicher die Keilschrift kannte und hieratische Papyri wenigstens gesehen hatte.

Das phönizische Alphabet war von vornherein zum Schreiben auf Papyrus bestimmt. Das sehen wir nicht nur aus der verschwindend kleinen Zahl der phönizischen Inschriften auf Stein oder Metall, die aus dem Anfang des 1. vorchristlichen Jahrtausends stammen, sondern auch aus der Erzählung Wn-Amóns, aus der hervorgeht, daß im 11. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert Papyrus aus Ägypten nach Phönizien exportiert wurde. Wenn nun ein Barbar, wie Njoya von

Bamum, der überhaupt nicht schreiben konnte, nicht ganz 20 Jahre nötig hatte, um von rohen Bildern von Gegenständen zu einer Kursivschrift zu gelangen, so brauchte ein gebildeter Mann, wie der phönizische Schriftentlehner auf dem Sinai, sicher viel weniger Zeit zu einer derartigen Umwandlung.

Diese Umwandlung hatte aber selbstverständlich zur Folge, daß nicht alle Zeichen der Sinaischrift übernommen wurden, und die, welche zur Anwendung kamen, mit ihren Vorbildern auch nicht deutlicher übereinstimmen als z. B. die Runen mit den griechischen, bzw. lateinischen Buchstaben.⁵

Man hat darauf hingewiesen, daß die Zeichen der ältesten phönizischen Inschriften eine lange Übung im Gebrauch von Feder und Tinte voraussetzen, doch war dieses sicher nicht beim Schreiben in phönizischer, sondern in hieratischer Schrift gewonnen; denn wir haben Beweise, daß gerade in Byblos man bereits zur Zeit des alten Reiches ägyptisch schreiben konnte.

Zum Schluß muß man noch die Frage aufwerfen, wann die Sinaischrift entstanden und die Übernahme derselben durch die Phönizier erfolgt ist.

Man hat versucht, die Zeit der Entstehung der Sinaischrift aus der Form ihrer Zeichen und der Gestalt des auf einer der semitischen Stelen abgebildeten Gottes Ptah abzuleiten, was uns ins mittlere Reich, bzw. in die Hyksoszeit führen würde.

Diese Auffassung ist leider nicht annehmbar. Ich habe darauf hingewiesen, daß der Schriftentlehner genug ägyptische Inschriften auf dem Sinai zur Verfügung hatte, um sich aus ihnen Zeichen wählen zu können.

Nun sind von den 59 Felseninschriften in Wadi Maghara und Serabît el Chadem 21 aus dem alten, 33 aus dem mittleren und 5 aus dem neuen Reich, und auch ein sehr großer Teil des Tempels geht auf die XII. Dynastie zurück.

Darum können wir, wenn die Sinaischrift eine im neuen Reich nicht übliche Zeichenrichtung aufweist, oder der Gott Ptah eine in dieser Zeit nicht mehr vorkommende Form hat, nur den Schluß ziehen, daß sich der Schriftentlehner eben seine Vorlagen entweder ganz oder teilweise aus dem mittleren Reich gewählt hat; über seine Wirkungszeit sagt uns dies gar nichts.

⁵ Wie gesagt, müssen wir die Formänderung der Runen dem Umstand zuschreiben, daß sie ursprünglich auf Holz geritzt wurden.

Ich habe schon oben die Meinung Herrn Geheimrats SETHE angeführt, der ich nur beipflichten kann, daß die semitischen Sinaiinschriften nur in einem Augenblick angebracht werden konnten, als die Nomaden sich im Besitz der Minen und des Tempels befanden.

Da die Minen in Serabît el Chadem im alten Reich noch nicht ausgebeutet wurden und der Tempel auch erst um 2000 v. Chr. entstanden ist, so kommt hier nur die Hyksoszeit oder die zweite Hälfte des 12. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts in Betracht, als die Ägypter den Sinai endgültig verlassen hatten.

In Serabît el Chadem haben wir kaum etwas, das uns zur Bestimmung der Entstehungszeit der Sinaischrift helfen könnte. Zwar befand sich einer der semitisch beschriebenen Weihgegenstände, die Hockerstatuette, in den Ruinen des Spdwheiligtums, das erst von der Hatschepsut erbaut war, doch nichts beweist uns, daß diese Statuette ursprünglich da niedergelegt worden ist, wo PETRIE sie gefunden hat.

Wir müssen daher wo anders die Entscheidung der Frage suchen, wann die semitischen Sinaiinschriften entstanden sind.

Wir haben nur sieben Felseninschriften in semitischer Sprache in Serabît el Chadem,⁶ die sicher einen Zeitraum decken, den wir höchstens nach Jahrzehnten, nicht nach Jahrhunderten berechnen dürfen. Was später geschah, wissen wir nicht, jedenfalls war die Sinaischrift in Serabît el Chadem nur verhältnismäßig kurz im Gebrauch gewesen, und in dieser kurzen Zeit mußte ihre Übernahme durch die Phönizier erfolgt sein. Denn Auskunft über die Sinaiinschrift konnten die Phönizier nur dann von den Nomaden erhalten, wenn die Stämme, mit denen sie an den Minen zusammenkamen, dieser Schrift mächtig waren. Daher sind wir gezwungen, den Zeitabschnitt zwischen der Entstehung der Sinaischrift und deren Entlehnung durch die Phönizier auch höchstens auf Jahrzehnte zu berechnen, d. h. daß zwischen den ersten semitischen Stelen auf dem Sinai und der ältesten phönizischen Inschrift bei weitem kein Jahrhundert liegen kann.

Man nimmt gewöhnlich an, daß vor der ältesten uns bekannten phönizischen Inschrift noch eine umfangreiche, Jahrhunderte umfassende, in phönizischer Schrift geschriebene Literatur existiert habe, aus dem vollständig unzureichenden Grunde, daß die Zeichen

⁶ Außerdem befindet sich noch eine in Wadi Maghara.

derselben von langem Gebrauche zeugen sollen. Ich glaube, oben klar dargestellt zu haben, daß der phönizische Schriftentlehner seinen Buchstaben gleich oder in kurzer Zeit eine Gestalt gegeben haben mußte, die sie für das Schreiben auf Papyrus geeignet machte.

Darum werden wir die schöne Geschichte von einer mehr als ein halbes Jahrtausend ausgeübten Schrift, von der nicht die mindeste Spur übriggeblieben ist, eben als eine schöne Geschichte behandeln und die ältesten uns bekannten phönizischen Inschriften, wenigstens vorläufig, als die ältesten überhaupt betrachten. Es sind dies die Inschriften der Könige Ahiram und Abiba'al von Byblos.

Man hat versucht, Ahiram zum Zeitgenossen Ramses II. zu machen. Mit welcher Berechtigung, werden wir gleich sehen.

Im Jahre 1923 fand Herr MONTET bei seinen Grabungen in Byblos einen Grabschacht, den er mit Nr. 5 bezeichnete. Dieser Schacht führte in eine Grabkammer, in der Herr MONTET zuerst auf den beschriebenen und schön bemalten Sarg des Ahiram traf, 2 Meter weiter stand ein zweiter, und erst nach tagelanger Entfernung der in dem Grabe angesammelten Erde fand man einen dritten. Aus der Lage der drei Säрге dürfen wir den Schluß ziehen, daß der Ahirams zuletzt beigesetzt worden ist, was um so wahrscheinlicher erscheint, als die beiden anderen bedeutend primitiver und noch dazu unbeschrieben sind. Denn in den älteren Gräbern der Fürsten von Byblos hat man zwar Gegenstände gefunden, die deren Namen in ägyptischer Hieroglyphenschrift tragen, doch die Säрге waren alle unausgeschmückt und unbeschrieben.

Die ganze Gruft war noch im Altertum ausgeraubt, und da im Schacht die Bruchstücke eines Gefäßes mit einer Inschrift Ramses II. gefunden worden sind, so sehen wir, auf welchem Wege die Diebe ihre Beute in Sicherheit gebracht haben.

Außer den Sarkophagen wurde in der Gruft noch ein zweites Gefäß mit der Inschrift Ramses II. gefunden und auch einige mykenische und kyprische Vasen sowie eine Elfenbeinschnitzerei von derselben Herkunft. Leider gibt Herr MONTET nicht an, wo diese Gegenstände lagen, so daß es unmöglich ist, zu entscheiden, wem diese Beigaben gehörten, Ahiram oder einem der früher bestatteten Toten. Jedenfalls ist aber eines klar: für eine genaue Datierung sind sie nicht zu gebrauchen.

Denn um die Zeit in einem Lande durch Gegenstände zu bestimmen, die aus einem anderen stammen, muß man entsprechende

Funde aus beiden Ländern haben. So z. B. beweist EVANS einwandfrei den Syndchronismus des Mittelminoischen III mit der Hyksoszeit durch Inschriften Hjans auf Kreta und Gegenstände aus dem Mittelminoischen III aus dem 17. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert in Ägypten.

Sonst haben wir bei fremden Funden in einem Lande nur einen *terminus post quem*, besonders wenn dieselben aus einer Glanzzeit, wie der Ramses II., stammen, nach der Verfall eintritt.

So werden wir nach dem Grabfunde von Byblos nur allenfalls sagen können, daß Ahiram nach Ramses II. gelebt hatte.

Da beide älteren Särge, die sich im Grab befanden, unbeschrieben sind, so können wir ohneweiters annehmen, daß ein im Schacht befindliches Graffito erst beim Bestatten Ahirams angebracht wurde, und es daher als zeitgenössisch mit seiner Sarginschrift betrachten.

Das Datum dieser beiden Inschriften wird uns ungefähr durch eine zweite aus Byblos stammende Inschrift des Königs Abiba'al gegeben. Dieselbe befindet sich zusammen mit Kartuschen Scheschonks I. auf dem Bruchstück einer Statuette. Nach den plausiblen Ergänzungen DUSSAUDS kann sie tatsächlich zur Zeit dieses Pharaos, also in der zweiten Hälfte des 10. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts, angebracht worden sein.

Vergleicht man nun die Inschriften Ahirams, Abiba'als und Meša (um 842 v. Chr.), so sieht man, daß der Unterschied der Schrift zwischen Ahiram und Abiba'al kleiner ist als zwischen Abiba'al und Meša. Nicht nur sind ihre Zeichen ähnlicher, sondern die Wörter werden bei den beiden ersten durch vertikale Striche getrennt, während bei Meša Punkte das Ende eines Wortes und vertikale Striche den Schluß eines Satzes bezeichnen.

So können wir zwischen Ahiram und Abiba'al höchstens einen so großen Zeitunterschied annehmen als zwischen Abiba'al und Meša, und daher Ahiram nicht früher als in die zweite Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts setzen.

Da nun, wie ich oben gezeigt habe, die semitischen Sinaischriften nicht viel früher entstanden sein konnten als die älteste uns bekannte phönizische Inschrift, so kommen wir auf diesem Wege zu dem Schluß, daß die Entstehung derselben erst nach dem endgültigen Verlassen des Sinai durch die Ägypter um 1150 v. Chr. und nicht in der Hyksoszeit erfolgt sein mußte.

SOME BABYLONIAN TEMPLE RECORDS¹

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32. (1) ^{dingir}nin-šaḥ (2) ur-ab-é-la (3) nam-til-la-ni-šú (4) a-mu-ru (5) ki-dúr (6) nam-dingir-bi-šú (7) ^{dingir}nin-šaḥ (8) amar-ud (9) dam-ni (10) é-me-kilib-ba-sag-il (11) mu-na-dū.

(1) To Ninšaḥ, (2) Urabéla, (3) for his life, (4) has presented (5) a residence, (6) for the deity. (7) To Ninšaḥ, (8) Amarud, (9) his wife, (10) a temple where all decisions are respected, (11) has built.

Ninšaḥ was a war-god and as such was sometimes identified with Ninib. He was a subordinate god, and bore the name of Papsukal, "divine messenger" (I R II 59, 23). Rim-Sin once built a temple for him at Uruk. In this text a certain Urabéla (mentioned in an account of the reign of Dungi, NIES, *Ur Dynasty Tablets*, No. 66, l. 19) presented Ninšaḥ with a residence, that is, a temple; and Amarud, his wife, built a temple for the god.

The inscription occupies one column on a partially inscribed square limestone tablet. The writing is archaic, but otherwise has no indication of date. As Ninšaḥ was a favourite deity of Rim-Sin, the inscription may belong to his reign. But this is uncertain.

33. (1) ^{dingir}nin-mar-ki (2) nin-a-ni (3) dun-gi (4) niṭaḥ-kal-ga (5) lugal ur^{ki}-ma (6) lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ge (Rev.) (1) é-sal-gil-sa (2) gir-su^{ki}-ka-ni (3) mu-na-dū.

(1) For Ninmarki, (2) his lady, (3) Dungi, (4) the mighty man, (5) king of Ur, (6) king of Sumer and Akkad, (Rev.) (1) her é-sal-gil-sa, (2) in Gir-su, (3) has built.

Ninmarki was daughter of Ninâ. King Ur-Bau built a temple for Ninmarki, and so did Dungi. But already Ur-Ninâ of Lagash had referred to a temple called E-Nin-Mar-ki. And Gudea included her in a list of chief deities.

¹ This is a continuation of a series of articles in this *Journal*, Vol. X (1926), 281 ff., where a note on the plan of the series may be found.

In SAK 190, e, a very similar inscription is to be found. However, this inscription is written on the Obv. and Rev. of a tablet, while SAK 190, e, is on only the Obv. (I R II, No. II 4); and this inscription omits the *dingir* before the name of *dun-gi*.

34. (1) *dingir*nin-gir-su (2) ur-sag kal-ga (3) *dingir*en-lil-lá-ra (4) gù-de-a (5) pa-te-si (6) šir-bur-la^{ki}-ge (7) é-ninnû *dingir*im- (8) gi(g)^{hu}-bàr-bàr-ra-ni (9) mu-na-dū.

(1) For Ningirsu, (2) the mighty warrior (3) of Enlil, (4) Gudea, (5) patesi (6) of Lagash, (7-8) his é-ninnû *dingir*im-gi(g)^{hu}-bàr-bàr-ra (9) has built.

This inscription is like SAK 142, t, except that it omits *nig-dú-e pa-mu-na-è* and *ki-bi mu-na-gí*.

35. (1) *dingir*gimil-ilu^{sin} (2) ki-ág *dingir*en-lil-lá (3) lugal *dingir*en-lil-li (4) ki-ág ša(g)-ga-na (5) in-pa(d) (6) lugal kal-ga (7) lugal urí^{ki}-ma (8) lugal an-ub-da tab-tab-ba-šú (9) é-ki-ág-gà-ni (10) mu-dū.

(1) Gimil-Sin, (2) beloved of En-lil, (3) the king, whom En-lil, (4) as the beloved of his heart, (5) has nurtured, (6) the mighty king, (7) king of Ur, (8) king of the four quarters of the world, (9) his beloved temple (10) has built.

This inscription corrects the error of SAK 200, c, in line 8, by having šú. But it omits lines 9-4 of that inscription, and has *mu-dū* for *mu-na-an-dū*.

36. (1) *dingir*ninni-za-unú^{ki} (2) nin-mu-ra (3) warad-ilu^{sin} (4) lugal ud-unú^{ki}-ma (5) nam-ti(l)-mu-šú (6) ù nam-ti(l) (7) ku-du-ur-ma-bu-úk (8) a-a u-gu-mà-ka (9) gi-un(ú)-na azag (10) ki-dur nam-ur-sag-gà-ka-ni (Rev.) (1) mu-na-dū (2) kur sukud-du-dím (3) šag-bi hu-mu-ni-in-il (4) nig-ag-mu-šú (5) ha-ma-hul-e (6) nam-ti(l) ud-gid-du (7) ud-ba-aš (8) ha-ma-an-ba-e.

(1) For Innina of Hallab, (2) my lady, (3) (have I) Arad-Sin, (4) king of Larsa, (5) for my life (6) and for the life (7) of Kudur-Mabuk, (8) (my) father, my begetter, (9) a pure *gigunû*, (10) as a dwelling-place of her heroism, (Rev.) (1) built. (2) As a high mountain, (3) it rears its summit. (4) Over my work (5) may she rejoice! (6) A life of many days, (7) into the future, (8) may she grant me!

This inscription corrects the error in SAK 214, e, in Rev. lines 6 and 7, where that inscription has *ud-gid-du-ma-aš*, instead of *ud-gid-du ud-ba-aš*.

Innina is the name of a well-known goddess. It is a name used generally for goddesses. Especially was *Innina* identified with *Ištar*. She was worshipped in many cities, as well as in *Hallab*.

Hallab was a city not far from Sippar. *Arad-Sin* was son of *Kudur-Mabuk*. Elam in 2167 under *Kudur-Mabuk* established itself in Larsa. *Arad-Sin* succeeded on the throne of Larsa in 2167, whence *Šilli-Adad* had been deposed.

37. (1) ^{dingir}nin-in-si-na (2) nin-gal ama-kalam-ma (3) zi-gál kalam dím-dím-me (4) dumu-sag an-azag-ga (5) nin-a-ni-ir (6) warad-^{il}sin (7) nitah-kal-ga (8) ú-a urí^{ki}-ma (9) lugal ud-unu-ma (10) lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri (11) sib nig-gi giš-ḥar šu-dú-dú me-en (12) é-u-nam-ti(l)-la (13) unu-azag-ga (14) ki-ni-dúb-bu-da-ni (15) é-a-ni nig-ud-ul-lí-a-ta (16) ba-dū a-ba ba-sun (17) nam-ti(l)-mu-šú (18) ù nam-ti(l) (19) ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk (20) a-a ugu-mà-ge [(21) ḥu-mu-na-dū].

(1) To Nininsina, (2) great lady, mother of the land, (3) giving life, creating the land, (4) eldest daughter of the clear heaven, (5) his lady, (6) *Arad-Sin*, (7) the mighty man, (8) nourisher of *Ur*, (9) king of *Larsa*, (10) king of *Sumer* and *Akkad*, (11) the faithful shepherd, who fulfils the (divine) purpose, am I. (12) The house of the plant of life, (13) the pure dwelling, (14) her place of security, (15) her house, which, in days of old, (16) was built, and then fell into decay, (17) for my life, (18–19) and the life of *Kudur-Mabuk*, (20) the father who begat me [(21) I built for her].

This inscription exists only in Obv. on a beautiful stone tablet. It is only in Obv. and ends with line 20, and is almost an exact duplicate of that portion of CT 96–4–4, 2 (SAK 214, d). This text omits *k* in line 9.

Nininsina was the chief goddess of *Nisin* (see HOMMEL, *Grundriß*, II, 449 and Anm. 3 and 4.

32

米	田	𠂇
𠂇	田	𠂇
𠂇	田	𠂇
二	米	𠂇
命	田	𠂇
米	田	𠂇
米	田	𠂇
𠂇	田	𠂇
𠂇	田	𠂇
𠂇	田	𠂇
𠂇	田	𠂇

34

米	田	𠂇	𠂇
𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
米	田	𠂇	𠂇
𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
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𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇

33

Ob.	米	田	𠂇	𠂇
1	田	𠂇	𠂇	𠂇
2	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
3	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
4	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
5	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
6	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇

Rev.	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
1	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
2	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
3	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇

35

1	米	田	𠂇	𠂇
2	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
3	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
4	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
5	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
6	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
7	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
8	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
9	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇
10	𠂇	田	𠂇	𠂇

Obv.

1	米 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔
2	𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔
3	𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔
4	𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔
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Rev.

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1	米 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔
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16	𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔
17	𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔
18	𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔
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ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΤΕ AND ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΔΕ TO EXPRESS COMPARISON OF INEQUALITY IN BOHAIRIC

By HENRY S. GEHMAN, University of Pennsylvania

ORDINARILY the Coptic uses Ε-, ΕΡΟ= with the comparative to denote comparison of inequality. The use of 2ΟΥΟ and Ε2ΟΤΕ- is also well known. For examples cf. MALLON, *Grammaire Copte*, 3rd ed., §§ 170-2; STERN, *Koptische Grammatik*, §§ 520 and 536; also SPIEGELBERG, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 254.

There is, however, in Bohairic another way of denoting comparison of inequality which has not received sufficient attention. In studying TATTAM's Bohairic text of the book of Daniel, I came across the construction ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΤΕ (Dan. 7, 7; 7, 19) and ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΔΕ (Dan. 1, 20; 2, 30), "forth from among," "from among," "from," which is not listed in the grammars in this connexion. MALLON, *op. cit.*, § 174, however, recognizes the use of this expression with the relative superlative: I Cor. 15, 9, ΠΙΚΟΥΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΙΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC, "the least from among the apostles," i.e. "the least of the apostles."

In English we have the idiom "different from"; a similar use is found in Bohairic, Daniel 7, 19, ὅτι ἦν διαφέρον παρὰ πάν θηρίον: ΧΕ ΝΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΤΑΦΟΡΑ ΜΜΟϢ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΤΕ ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ: "because it had a difference," i.e., "because it was different [from among =] from every beast"; Daniel 7, 7, καὶ αὐτὸ διάφορον περισσῶς παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία: ΟΥΟ2 ΝΘΟϢ 2ΩϢ ΟΥΟΝ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΜΜΟϢ Ν2ΟΥΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΙΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ: "It had an exceeding difference from among all the beasts," i.e., "it was very different from all the beasts."

Now from the use of ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΤΕ in these two passages we can explain ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΔΕ as being merely a variant spelling of the former. At first sight one may be tempted to interpret ΟΥΔΕ as Greek οὐδέ, but obviously that does not explain the syntax with ΕΒΟΛ nor the translation from the Greek text. ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΔΕ like ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΤΕ is used to render παρὰ; in other words the copyist used both ex-

pressions in the same sense. It happens, however, that **ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΔΕ** is used in both cases with the comparative. Now it appears that the copyist of this text confused in pronunciation his mediae and tenues; thus he writes **ΒΑΛΛΑΛΑΡ** for Greek βαλτασάρ. A similar change is recorded by STERN, *op. cit.*, § 15, **ΘΕΛΑΔΡΟΝ** for θέατρον. The opposite change from the media to the tenuis also occurs: **†ΑΦΟΡΑ** (Dan. 7, 19) for **ΔΙΛΦΟΡΑ** (Dan. 7, 7); **ΝΙΜΗΤΟC** (Dan. 6, 8 [9]; 8, 20; 9, 1) for **ΝΙΜΗΔΟC** (Dan. 6, 12 [13]), Greek Μηδοί; **ΝΤΕ ΟΥΕΝΤΕΛΕΧΙCΜΟC** (Dan. 12, 11) for Greek τοῦ ἐνδελεχισμοῦ. This confusion of tenues and mediae in our text (especially **ΒΑΛΛΑΛΑΡ** for βαλτασάρ) explains **ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΔΕ** as merely a variant of **ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΤΕ**.

We can now proceed to the two passages in which **ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΔΕ** occurs: Daniel 1, 20, εὗρεν αὐτοὺς δεκαπλασίονας παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἐπαιδοὺς καὶ τοὺς μάγους τοὺς ὄντας ἐν πάσῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ: **ΛΥΧΕΜΟΥ ΜΙ ΝΚΩΒ ΝCΟΠ ΕΥΦΑΣΕΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΙΡΕCΙCΩΗΜ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΛΛΩΟΥΙ ΝΗΕΤΞΕΝ ΤΑΓΛΗ ΜΠΟΥΡΟ**: "And they found them ten times better [forth from among, from among, from =] than all the fortune tellers and the youths who were in the court of the king"; Daniel 2, 30, καὶ ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ τῇ οὐσῇ ἐν ἐμοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ζῶντας τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο ἀπεκαλύφθη: **ΛΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΛΝ ΞΕΝ ΤΑCΟΦΙΑ ΕΤΕ ΝΞΗΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΗΕΤΟΝΞ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΛΓCΩΡΠ ΜΠΑΙ ΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ**: "To me, too, but not by my wisdom which is in me more [forth from among, from among, from =] than (in) all living beings, has this mystery been revealed."

The study of these four passages and a comparison of them with the Greek text show that Bohairic **ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΤΕ** or **ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΔΕ** is used to express comparison of inequality.

A NOTE ON JOB XXX: 1

By GEORGE JESHURUN, Brooklyn, N.Y.

כְּרִית כְּרָתִי לְעֵינַי וְטָה אֶתְבוֹנֶן עַל בְּתוּלָה

THESE are the opening words of Job's solemn oath of clearing. The best translation of this passage I found in LEESER's English version of the O.T.:

*A covenant have I made with my eyes:
How then could I fix my look on a virgin?*

Yet, this rendering is at odds with logic, and with the context. For here Job foreswears something which was not even a mild misdemeanor in Job's social milieu. There asceticism was no virtue. Men, women, and בְּתוּלֹת had to appear before him. As Judge and leader he had to listen to and weigh, their testimony. How could he do his duty, without looking into their faces, if there happened to be בְּתוּלֹת among them? Why, then, a *covenant* with the eyes?

Evidently, the term בְּתוּלָה cannot mean a "virgin" in our text.

But in the post-biblical literature בְּתוּלָה, or מוֹל בְּתוּלָה means the constellation Virgo of the signs of the Zodiac. The Divine Regent of that sign was Ishtar-Astarte-Venus: the Goddess of Fecundity. The Assyro-Babylonian literature abounds with prayers to that Goddess. She is represented as a woman with ears of corn growing out of her body. Jeremias reads her name and title: Kakub A-EDIN, and EŠ-ŠIN, and renders it: *Samenschaffende*.¹

Now, the Hebrew בְּתוּלָה is derived from the hypothetical בָּתַל. The latter is the equivalent of בָּשַׁל, just as פָּתַר = פֶּשֶׁר, and בְּרוּשִׁים = בְּרוּתִים, &c. So בְּתוּלָה really means בָּשׁוּלָה, *the ripe one*. Indeed, in Genesis XXIV, 16 we read: וְהַנְּעִרָה בְּתוּלָה וְאִישׁ לֹא יָדָעָהּ. If the only meaning of בְּתוּלָה be *a virgin*, why וְאִישׁ לֹא יָדָעָהּ? Evidently, נַעֲרָה בְּתוּלָה means a damsel who had reached the age of puberty, *a ripe one*, *Samenschaffende*.

¹ JEREMIAS, A., *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, p. 112.

At the same time, the term בתולה may have been taken from the pictorial representations of the Zodiac, which the Judeans, in their short exile in Babylonia, had undoubtedly become familiar with. The Hebrew Calendar has to this day the Assyro-Babylonian names of the months. And the names of the signs of the Zodiac in the Hebrew Calendar are the same which Europe inherited from the Assyro-Babylonian world. In the case of the Hebrew Calendar the sign עקרב coincides with the Babylonian *acrabu*.

In the post-biblical literature the term מול בתולה is found in the Sepher-Yezirah. The language of the latter, pure Hebrew, would bespeak the date of the latter books of the Hebrew O.T.

In the light of the foregoing, we can see how closely knit the opening lines of the oath of clearing turn out to be. In the very first line Job asserts his strict monotheism: he never turned to the starry heavens for lucky omens; he never gazed at Ishtar-Virgo with a prayer on his lips.

Says Job:

*A covenant have I made with my eyes:
How, then, could I fix my look upon Virgo?
For what is the portion of God from above,
And the heritage of the Almighty from on high?*

If, in reading the above lines we put the logical stress on *God, Almighty*, we shall see at once what an anticlimax the traditional rendering makes, just at the moment when the great hero-man makes his last effort to defend his own honor and the dignity of the human personality.

TEXTUAL NOTES ON HARPER'S ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS

By JOHN A. MAYNARD, New York City

THE following are restorations which may not be obvious.

- 174, Rev. 2, ḫurâṣu ša ^dna-[na]
- 1197, Rev. 4, [lu uš^l-bu
- 1216, 23, namurati ma-[[']aduti], many bright jewels
- 1216, Rev. 5, la ba-na-a-[tu]
- 1217, 13, mimma ma-[la]
- 1221, 15, [ša a]-sa-ṭar
- 1222, Rev. 21, [nabû-bel]-šumate
- 1235, Rev. 3, ina [']muḫḫi]
- 1236, 14, ^mbalatsu, a proper name
- 1238, Rev. 13, translate "they servants are dead"
- 1246, Rev. 19, e-[mu-ḫi]
- 1246, Rev. 20, [ša] aš-pu-[ra]
- 1285, 14, [sak^l-lu u suk-ku-ku, foolish and deaf
- 1285, Rev. 10, lib-bi [beli] lu-u ṭâb-šu
- 1291, 6, [']agû^l sarri be-li-a
- 1295, Rev. 11, amelu ša eli ali
- 1308, Rev. 2, [']i^l-šal, he asks
- 1326, 2, šamaš-šum-ukin (cf. rev. 6)
- 1336, 8, [']muḫḫi^l nibzâni, upon the documents
- 1337, 6, [i-šim^l-mu i-pu-[']šu^l
- 1344, Rev. 5, [bu]-un-ni-i ul ṭa-a-bi
- 1345, Rev. 4, ul-te-[ri-bu]
- 1349, 5, ištu libbišunu lillikuni
- 1356, Rev. 6, il-li-kam-ma
- 1357, Rev. 6, 7, ^mbel-u-bi-u
- 1377, Rev. 12, [i-ma]-gur. Cf. l. 10
- 1378, 8, ^{giš}daltu

- 1397, Rev. 12, ^daš-[šur]
1398, 2, [ki-i] ša 'i-li-[u]
1399, 2, marduk-bani-[aplu]
1400, 2, [ardi]-šu ^mtammaritam. Cf. H, 943, 2
1401, Rev. 10, lid-di-nu
1402, 2, 3, ... tu-ub lib-bi [tu-ub šeri u labar] pal-e
1411, Rev. 4, [ip]-ši-iḫ
1413, 5, šal-mu
1415, 6, sa ni-pu-šu-[ni]
1419, 7, [dul]-lu tepaš, thou shalt perform the work
1420, Rev. 12, [nabu]-našir. Cf. H, 1425, 2

REVIEWS

Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale. Par G. Contenau. Paris: Éditions Auguste Picard, 1927, pp. 545, ill. 357.

The energetic adjunct keeper of the Louvre has written a large and fine manual of oriental archaeology. He divides his work into two parts. The first consisting of general information and the second on the history of art. In his first part he takes up in detail the sources, and in Chapter two writes of the physical content of the ancient orient. In Chapter three he discusses the race. In Chapter four he gives an outline of history and chronology. In Chapter five he discusses the languages, in Chapter six he describes the sculpture, and in Chapter seven he gives an outline of the general laws of the peoples of the ancient orient. The second part of the book from pages 355 to the end is devoted to the study of the art of Ancient Western Asia including Elam and Sumer. He furnishes a splendid bibliography from which one misses some important books, but which is nevertheless splendidly chosen. A few corrections need to be made in a new edition of this fine book. For example, in the bibliography on page 491 it should be noted that there is a new edition of Benzinger's *Archaeologie*. Mention should also have been made of the splendid bibliographies in this *Journal* by Dr. Maynard.

One of the most interesting sections of this book is that on the ethnology of the peoples of the ancient Orient where the author so ably sums up the question of the origin of the Sumerians, and where he discourses so clearly on panbabylonianism. This splendid manual deserves to be translated into English and German.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

L'Art de l'Asie occidentale ancienne. Par G. Contenau. Paris et Bruxelles: Les Éditions G. Van Oest, 1928, pp. 58, pls. 64. Fr. 36.

Dr. Contenau has presented the scholarly world in this book with a rare piece of work. As an introduction he gives a clear and concise account of the architecture, sculpture, decorative and industrial arts of the ancient countries of Western Asia, these being

Sumer, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Palmyra, Baalbeck, Petra, and the lands of the Hittites. Beginning with examples of the earliest sculpture and architecture he traces the history of these arts from the earliest to the latest times and has called in some of the earliest and some of the most recent results of archaeological explorations to illustrate his points. The introduction is accurate and informing and the beautiful reproductions of oriental art will leave very little to be desired.

The author has furnished a brief bibliography from which a few important works seem to have been omitted such as Otto Weber's *Altorientalische Siegelbilder* (Der alte Orient, 17. und 18. Jahrgang), Leipzig, 1920. In a future edition of the work the proof reading should be carefully revised. For example, on page 53, *Mineveh* should read *Nineveh*. But these are very minor points in comparison with the excellence of this work.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. V, Athens, 478-401 B.C. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927, pp. 554. \$7.00.

Here and in the volume which follows, Greece occupies the centre of the picture. This volume is called Athens because the political and intellectual activities of that city are the main subject of the history of the fifth century. After the victory over the barbarians described in Volume IV, which Athens believed to have been due to her exertions, there came a sense of power, so that, in commerce as in thought, the Athenians were now ready to take and to improve the heritage of Ionia. This volume therefore begins with an account of the economic conditions under which Athens accomplished her great achievements and made herself the acknowledged leader of Hellenic civilization.

Athens passed from champion and protectress of the Greeks of the Aegean seaboard to their mistress. In her effort to turn a free alliance into an empire, and, at the same time, to become leader of Greece, the Athenian state was fused into a democracy which granted to its citizens the freedom which it denied to others, and created a splendid city which compelled the admiration as well as the envy of its neighbours. The story of this imperialistic democracy is followed by an account of the greatest contribution made by Greece to the literature of the world, namely, the Attic Drama. A

study of the development of dramatic art is given in Chapter V. Western Greece is then discussed, beginning with a history of Sicily during the period of the tyranny and its passage into democracies. Then comes the breakdown of the Thirty Years Peace, followed by a catena of conflicts known as the Peloponnesian War, which finally lured Athens into the disastrous adventure of the Sicilian Expedition and revived the war in Greece itself. The political history of the fifth century ends in tragedy, but it is the century which saw Periclean Athens as the intellectual centre of the Greek world, and witnessed the sophistic movement which led to an age of illumination. After a chapter on Herodotus and Thucydides, we read in a final chapter of the supreme beauty of Greek art and architecture. The book concludes with a series of notes on important points and excellent bibliographies for each chapter. The whole volume is splendidly illustrated with maps, tables, plans, &c., and in spite of diversity of authorship, has an essential unity of theme carefully carried out by the co-operation of the various contributors. This volume takes its place among its predecessors with a feeling of dignity and equality.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VI, Macedon, 401-301 B.C.
 Edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock. New York:
 The Macmillan Company, 1927. \$9.50.

This is the sixth volume in this important series. The first part of this volume traces the effect of the Persian Monarchy on Greek affairs for two generations following the fall of Athens with especial attention to those factors in Persian policy which tended to keep the Greek states divided, and which prepared the way for the rise of Macedon. The second part of this volume centres about Macedon, showing how it rose to such strength as to impose unity upon the Greeks and to lead the West in the conquest of the East. The rest of the volume has to do with Alexander's career and the immediate destiny of the heritage of power he left behind him.

For readers of this *Journal* chapters six and seven will be found to be particularly interesting, indeed, compelling and most instructive. Chapter VI is by H. R. Hall in which he resumes and completes the history of Ancient Egypt, and Chapter VII is by S. A. Cook in which he carries on the history of the political and religious development

of Palestine and of her immediate neighbours. The high standard set by the previous volumes in this series is maintained in this one. *The Cambridge Ancient History* is one of the great sets of books, for the layman as well as for the scholar, which will be the standard for many years to come.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Paulys Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung von Dr. Georg Wissowa. Herausgegeben von Dr. Wilhelm Kroll und Dr. Karl Mittelhaus. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1839-1927.

This world-famous encyclopaedia was founded in 1837 by August Pauly, then Professor of Ancient Literature in the Gymnasium at Stuttgart. The first volume appeared in 1839 from the publishing house of J. B. Metzler, the present publishers. In 1845 Pauly died, and the venture was piloted by various people until 1890 when George Wissowa, Professor of Classical Philology at Marburg, began a revision and continuation. In 1910, after the appearance of the 13th half-volume (*Formax-Glykon*), the editorship, beginning with the letter G, was assumed by Wilhelm Kroll, the present editor, with the assistance of Kurt Witte until 1923 and since that of Dr. K. Mittelhaus. The last volume to appear (1927) is the fifth half-volume (*Silacenis-Sparsus*) of the Second Series, which will cover the letters R-Z. There have so far appeared in the First Series 26 half-volumes, with four volumes of supplements; and in the Second Series five half-volumes, bringing the whole encyclopaedia up to and including the word *Lysimachides* in the First Series and *Sparsus* in the Second Series.

There is no doubt about the greatness of this encyclopaedia. It is especially designed for Classical Antiquity, but the student of Ancient Egypt can ill-afford to be without this work, the greatest in its subject. Many of the articles on Egypt are written by Dr. G. Roeder of Hildesheim—and they are hard to surpass, see, for example, his article on *Horus*.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume of Plates I. Prepared by C. T. Seltman. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927, pp. 28 + pls. 394. \$7.00.

It is the purpose of this volume to offer instances of the handiwork of those peoples whose story has been passed in review in the first four volumes of "The Cambridge Ancient History." Such a survey over so wide an area helps to emphasize the unity as well as the diversity of different cultures, and viewed as a whole the arts and crafts of many races appear in perspective to have moved slowly and unwittingly towards a single center, namely, Greece. There is a short preface to this volume of Plates which describes briefly the choice of illustrations. The second Volume of Plates will illustrate Volumes V and VI of "The Cambridge Ancient History."

The contents show that the order followed in Volumes I-IV prevails in this volume of Plates. Then there comes a list of references in order that the student may know what page in the volumes of text these pictures illustrate. The Plates are given on the right hand side of the book, and a full description of each Plate facing it on the left hand side. The descriptions contain not only the explanation of what the Plates are, but they give a reference to where the originals may be found and very often to the place where the originals were published and discussed. The volume is beautifully printed and will be found indispensable to all students of ancient Oriental history. This fine set of books would be incomplete without these volumes of Plates.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The New Pictorial Outline of History. By H. G. Wells. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927, pp. 1190. \$7.50.

This new one-volume edition of Wells' famous book contains the entire text of the previous two-volume revised edition, together with more than 700 illustrations. This great book, with its easy, swift-moving language, summarizing centuries of history, reads like a novel. One wonders how one man in such a short time could have marshalled and arranged such a prodigious assemblage of fact and fancy and presented them in such an orderly and scientific way. The book is meant for the layman, but the expert need not be ashamed to be found with it, for what might be considered lost in detail is gained in synthesis. This book is quite unique.

I have read the first three "books" with great care; also the fourth book but less carefully. The rest I have gone through rather rapidly, and hope to read them more carefully in the future. I am

very much impressed with the first part of the work, and I suspect the other part is no less great.

Book I is on "The World Before Man"—the earth in space and time, the records of the rocks, and of life and climate. The geological charts are splendid. The age of reptiles and that of mammals are described in a fascinating way, wonderfully illustrated. Book II is on "The Making of Man"—first sub-men, then the Neanderthal men and the first true men. After that Neolithic man is accounted for, with a description of early thought, and of the races and languages of mankind. All this makes fascinating reading.

Maps, charts, and pictures make these early men and events live. And it is all done with remarkable accuracy. Of course, there are innumerable problems unsolved and many opinions upon which scholars may differ. "The Old Man in Religion," on pages 117 f. appears to be rather much of a bugaboo, who probably never existed either in or outside the imagination of mortal man, except in that of some modern scholars—the Classification of the Ethiopic as a Hamitic language—the Dravidian affinities of the Sumerians—the eating of the dead by early Egyptians—these and other similar opinions are debatable in the highest degree. But what are they in comparison with the masterful way in which Wells has made the history of the world to hang together with so much art and skill.

Book III gives a wonderfully accurate outline of the first great civilizations—their trading, writing, religion, and society. The following books treat of Judea, Greece, and India; of the rise and fall of the Roman Empire; of Christianity and Islam; of the Mongol Empires; and finally of the Great Powers, bringing events down through the Great War, and even unto the "Next War," and a Federal World State of the dim future. Without endorsing all which Mr. Wells has to say, this book of his for many years should stand beside the Bible and Shakespeare in every English-speaking home.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

First Report of the Prehistoric Survey Expedition. By K. S. Sandford and W. J. Arkell. Oriental Institute Communications No. 3. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. 52. \$1.00.

This expedition fostered by Professor Breasted is an earnest of what we may expect along this line. Prehistoric Egypt is being

attacked and in time will be forced to yield its secret to us. Here we have a report of the first field-season, 1926-1927. This most interesting account is prefaced by 27 pages in which are given an outline of the geology of Egypt, an account of the later stages in the history of the Nile Valley, and a discussion of the succession of human industries in Europe and in Egypt. The results of this first season's work already throw valuable new light on the geology and human development in the Nile Valley. The discovery of the southern terminus of the prehistoric Nile lake or gulf, the recognition of the five river terraces, and the discovery of early Paleolithic implements imbedded in and contemporaneous with the hundred-foot terrace are examples of what this expedition has done. We look forward to further work along this line.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor. By H. H. von der Osten. Oriental Institute Communications No. 2. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927, pp. 104. \$1.00.

This preliminary report will be completed by a final publication of the explorations of the expedition in *The Publications of the Oriental Institute*. But here with the aid of 101 clear and well chosen illustrations we are enabled to follow at ease the expedition from Stambul on July 1, 1926 eastward to Angora and back to Stambul on Sept. 26, 1926, covering in all 4607 kilometers. In the account the author gives among other useful information a brief reconstruction of Hittite history. Then he describes the geographical structure of Asia Minor, and after that comes his fascinating account in which the author gallantly credits his brave wife with many helpful deeds. We await with eagerness the final full publication.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Ur Excavations. Volume I, Al-'Ubaid. A report by H. R. Hall, C. L. Woolley, and chapters by C. J. Gadd and Sir Arthur Keith. London and Philadelphia: Oxford University Press and University of Pennsylvania Press, 1927, pp. 244, pls. 68. £3.3.0 (\$15.00).

This stately volume contains a report of the work carried out at Al-'Ubaid for the British Museum in 1919 and for the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the Uni-

versity of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia in 1923-1924. This report is to be followed by a series of publications of the texts of the tablets and inscriptions found in the course of the excavations. The Joint Expedition has also excavated at Tell al-Mugayyar, where Taylor worked in 1854, and which is identified as the site of Ur of the Chaldees. The results of these excavations will also be published in the future.

The text of this book is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the temple and the second with the cemetery. Dr. Hall writes an introductory chapter and describes the work done by the British Museum alone in 1919. The work of the season 1923-1924 is described by Mr. Woolley. In chapter six Woolley has made a very brave and perhaps successful attempt to reconstruct the temple of Nin-khursag, as it stood in the days of A-anni-padda, more than five thousand years ago. The reconstruction is vividly and scientifically done.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is chapter seven in which Mr. C. J. Gadd describes the inscriptions found at al-'Ubaid and tells their significance. We see now the famous text, TO. 160 (B.M. 116 982), which was for the first time published two years ago, in which the name and relationship of A-anni-padda (about 3100 B.C.) are revealed. As Gadd has well said, the revealing of the First Dynasty of Ur as an historical reality is the cardinal interest of the written material from al-'Ubaid. And that is worth a great deal! The Tablet above referred to has served to take back the series of contemporary monuments almost to the beginning of the post-deluvian dynasties, and has proved that Sumerian tradition did not begin with mere speculation or myth but embodied true information. Gadd also calls attention to the no less famous limestone "Pictographic Tablet" from Kish, which represents the archetype of all Sumerian writing, and also to one of the signs on the tablet, the picture of a sledge bearing a shrine. In this he sees an example of the early connection between Egypt and Babylonia, since the picture is of Egyptian form. The deity to whom the temple in al-'Ubaid was sacred is Nin-khursag, whose chief centres were the cities of Kesh and Adab, and known to the Semites as *belit ili*. She is also to be identified with the goddess Mami, an oath deity. Her symbol was the cow; to be seen in the copper reliefs found at al-'Ubaid.

The cemetery is described by Mr. Woolley, in which he dwells most instructively on the firing and decoration of the pottery, and on the relationship between this cemetery and other sites.

In many respects, the most interesting and valuable part of the text of this work is the chapter by Professor Keith on the "Human Remains." After pointing out that the first group of human remains, found in 1923-1924 from graves in the ancient cemetery at al-'Ubaid, represent the earliest inhabitants of Mesopotamia that have so far come under the eye of the craniologist, and after showing reasons for believing that the whole of Mesopotamia in ancient times was inhabited by a people of the same physical type and of the same racial origin, he goes on to make the interesting statement that these early Mesopotamians were akin to the predynastic people of Egypt whose remains were found at al-Kawamil in Upper Egypt, but differed from all other predynastic and dynastic Egyptians.

The sixty-eight splendid plates, the full index, and the detailed description of the plates leave little to be desired. Both authors and publishers are to be congratulated on this fine piece of work. It goes without saying that all great libraries will want to own this volume and all others in this series.

In addition to Weidner's work referred to on page 24, n. 1, Albright's treatment of that text in this *Journal* (Vol. VII, pp. 1-20) should have been mentioned because of the many improvements in transliteration, translation and interpretation.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia. By Albert T. Clay. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927.

This is the fourth volume of Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies. There are 85 plates, with 233 texts including five plates of photographs. The work is done as only the late Albert T. Clay could do it—texts copied beautifully as well as accurately. The volume adds to our slowly growing collection of published Cappadocian texts.

The preface is written by Professor Torrey, where he tells us something about the preparation of the volume for the press. This volume contains only a selection from the Cappadocian texts in possession of Yale University—texts acquired by the late Professor

Clay. Of the texts published in this volume, half are business letters (Nos. 1-99 and 217-233), fifteen are records of legal transactions (Nos. 110-114), and the rest are business records of various sorts, such as promissory notes, records of deposits, receipts, contracts, &c. Some of the most interesting seal impressions, selected by Professor Clay himself, are reproduced in photographic form. The list of personal names was made by a pupil of Professor Clay, namely, Dr. Ferris J. Stephens. There is also a catalogue of the texts, with brief descriptions. The whole volume is another worthy addition to our corpus of Cuneiform texts.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Neo-Babylonian Administrative Documents from Erech, Parts I and II. By H. F. Lutz. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

The documents herein published, with the exception of three letters, are administrative records from the Eanna temple and its various shrines. They date over a period of about eighty-six years (625-539 B.C.). Although a considerable number of documents similar in type have already been published, additional material is always welcome.

Dr. Lutz transliterates and translates thirty-six of the documents, all of which are interesting, especially No. 2, in which the queen of Nabopolassar is predicated with deification, an unique case, and perhaps capable of other interpretation. The author adds a full index of names, personal as well as names of places, temples, canals and gates. A good catalogue is provided with a description of each letter.

Part II contains additional documents from Erech, dating from 648 to 626 B.C. A number of the texts deal with the shirkutuship or temple serfdom. These texts indicate that the government took an active interest in the temple serfs. Here Dr. Lutz transliterates and translates eight texts, and supplies indices, as before, as well as a useful catalogue. The texts are finely autographed in a clear hand.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Les Antiquités orientales—Sumer, Babylonia, Elam. Par G. Contenau. Paris: Éditions Albert Morancé, pp. 23, pls. 54.

The publishing house of Morancé has planned to publish a series of Albums reproducing the principal monuments in the Louvre in Paris. The volume under consideration deals with the art of Sumer, Babylonia and Elam and is prepared by Dr. Contenau, than whom none else is better able. Dr. Contenau contributes an interesting and informing introduction, giving a description of the countries of Mesopotamia and Elam and then presenting in systematic order a description of the monuments reproduced. There are 54 beautiful reproductions of some of the finest works of art from the ancient Orient. Especially well reproduced is the statue of Gudea and the vase of Entemena. The thanks of students and scholars are due not only to Dr. Contenau but also to the publishers of this fine Album.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Ausgrabungen in Babylonien. Von Stephen Langdon. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1928, pp. 75, 8 Tafeln. Mk. 4.80.

This account of excavations in Babylonia has been translated from the author's English into German by Dr. Weißbach. The report begins with 1918 when Dr. Campbell Thompson excavated Abu Shahrein (Eridu). A clear and systematic story is told of the work at Abu Shahrein and its neighbourhood, of the excavations at Tell el-Obeid, Ur, Kish, Kharsagkalama, Dshemdet and Barghuthijat. The account is illustrated by 27 charts and maps as well as by 8 plates of pictures. It is a brief but model description.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Two Rameside Tombs at Thebes. By Norman de Garis Davies, with plates in colour by N. de Garis Davies, H. T. Hopgood, C. K. Wilkins, the late Norman Hardy, and Nina de G. Davies of the Egyptian Expedition. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927, pp. 86, pls. 42.

This is Volume 5 of the Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series, edited by Albert M. Lythgoe. It is printed in the same stately and luxurious manner as its predecessors in the same series. Nor does the scholarship of the volume suffer by comparison with its mechanical aspect. There is first of all an introduction in which the significance of the Ramessid era is discussed, with its effect on sepulchral

art, its increased freedom, its richness of colour, its weak features, and other characteristics. The author points out that an essential failing of the Ramessid school is the carelessness with which the walls were prepared for painting.

The two tombs described are those of Userhêt and Apy. One chapter is devoted to each. In chapter one the site of the tomb, its exterior and entrance are first described. Then the interior is surveyed, with an account of the scenes in detail. All this is done with the greatest detail, and accompanied by footnotes filled with important historical, philological, and religious comments. In chapter two a similar description of the tomb of Apy is found. It should be noted that this tomb had already been described as early as 1894 by Father Scheil, but the description was incomplete and incorrect. The tomb was again abandoned, but refound in 1911-1912, and at last has received adequate treatment.

More than half this sumptuous volume is given over to plates. To study these perfect pictures is almost as good as a trip to the tombs themselves, at any rate, it can be done with ease and comfort as well as delight and advantage. And with the aid of the splendid drawings of the scenes one can study the movement of figures and contents of inscriptions far more easily than if he stood before the walls themselves. There is the added comfort that one may trust the faithfulness with which the copying has been done. The library or individual who is wise enough to procure these volumes is fortunate indeed! Of course, no Egyptian collection of any worth can be without them.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Documents pour servir à l'Étude de l'Art égyptien. Publiés par Jean Capart. Vol. I. Paris: Les Éditions du Pégase, 1927, 89, pls. 100. £5.5.0.

This magnificent volume inaugurates a series, ably edited by Professor Capart, which has as its object the bringing together of a large number of pictures of the finest works of Egyptian art to be found in the world's museums and art galleries. In this way the student of Egyptian art will have in his hands the best examples of the various works of art produced by the ancient Egyptians. This object is clearly stated by Capart in his preface.

There are one hundred plates, containing pictures of works of art from many sources, representing collections from Cairo and Leipzig in the east to Cleveland in the west. Each plate is briefly described, with accuracy and a deep insight into artistic values. Among the most interesting plates (but they are all interesting!) are: No. 2, from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the head of a pharaoh with the Red Crown of Lower Egypt; No. 2 from Cairo, the Sheikh el-Beled; No. 11, from the Louvre, the head of a man; No. 15, from Hildesheim, an inscription; No. 32, from Brussels heads of Ikhnaton; No. 34, Brussels, head of Tutankhamon; and No. 55 from Abydos, basreliefs of Sethi I. This splendid publication, under the distinguished patronage of the "Fondation égyptologique de Sa Majesté la Reine Élisabeth," will mark a new epoch in the study of ancient art, and edited as it is by Professor Capart, perhaps the most capable of living students of Egyptian art, the world of art has much to be thankful for. This splendid book, well-written, luxuriously printed, and tastefully bound, with text by a master of his subject is indispensable to all students of Egyptian art.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Die ägyptische Literatur. Von Max Pieper. Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1927, pp. 102, pls. 4. Mk. 10.00.

Besides the 4 plates, there are many illustrations in the text of this useful book. After an introduction, the description of the literature of ancient Egypt is divided into seven parts: the Earliest period, the Old Kingdom, the period between the Old and the Middle Kingdom, the Middle Kingdom, the New Kingdom, the time of the Ramesids, and the late period. In each period the most important literary contribution is noted, and there is as well a brief list of the best modern literature on the subject. From this modern literature one often misses important books, such as, for example, on page 6, Gardiner's great *Grammar*, on page 8, Weigall's *A History of the Pharaohs*, &c., but the element of choice must be reckoned with. In the discussion of the famous Aton hymn, we should have been pleased if an expression of opinion as to authorship had been more definite. However, the book will be found suggestive and especially helpful.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache. Im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien herausgegeben von Adolf Erman und Hermann Grapow: 3. Lieferung, 1927, Mk. 17.50; 4. Lieferung (Schluß des II. Bandes), 1928, Mk. 19.00. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

The third part of the great dictionary begins with the letter M and goes to the word *nb*, and the fourth part continues to the end of the letter H, with the last word as *hdd.w*. The autographing of the work has been done, as in the two earlier parts by W. Erichsen, in his beautifully clear hand. As for the rest of the work, the names of the compilers, Erman and Grapow, are enough to guarantee the best that Egyptology at the present time can produce. The student of Egyptian hieroglyphics seizes these volumes accordingly as they appear with unbounded eagerness.

It may seem ungracious to criticize, but one may ask a question. Why, for example, are such words as *mkmrt*, which occurs in III 162, not more closely defined? The word occurs in the new text, Amen-em-ope, l. 120. What does it mean—"snare," "restraining cord," "seine"? The user of the Great Dictionary will be perplexed by such omissions. At least, suggestions should have been made.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Altägyptische Erzählungen und Märchen. Ausgewählt und übersetzt von Günther Roeder. Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1927, pp. 343. Mk. 7.00.

Ancient Egypt has impressed the world with its architecture and art; its religion and morals. The common conception of Egypt is that of a serious and solemn people heavy in thought and dull of imagination. These carefully culled tales, excellently retold by a first-class Egyptologist, come as a surprise to the layman, for here are lightness of touch, keenness of humor, and brightness of imagination which would do justice to the thinkers of the Arabian nights.

The attractively printed book is beautifully illustrated with drawings and photographs, supplied with an informing introduction, and enriched by thirteen pages of *Anmerkungen*, which only a thorough scholar like Roeder would think of. These *Anmerkungen* will be found most useful even by the expert. Both author and

publishers are to be congratulated on the excellence of this fine and useful book.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte. Von Walter Wreszinski. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1927. II. Teil, Lieferung 8, Mk. 25.60; Lieferung 9-10, Mk. 50.40.

Lieferung 8 contains ten plates, four of which represent different aspects of the Battle of Kadesh. Lieferung 9-10 contains fifteen plates, ten of which are of the Battle of Kadesh. All of these plates are executed with the accustomed accuracy and thoroughness of the author. With Lieferung 8 is included a double-columned page of corrections and additions to former plates. This will be found of great assistance to students. Wreszinski's Atlas has already proved its worth, and is being found indispensable to students of Ancient Egyptian civilization.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Encyclopaedia Judaica — Das Judentum in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Erster Band: „Aach-Akademien.“ Berlin: Verlag Eschol A.-G., 1927, pp. 1215.

The Encyclopaedia Judaica to which we have hitherto been accustomed is the famous *Jewish Encyclopaedia* in twelve large volumes, edited by Isidore Singer, published by Funk and Wagnalls in New York and London, and finished in 1906. It was a great undertaking, and was successfully carried through.

Now we are to have "the last word" in Jewish encyclopaedias. Dr. Klatzkin, Dr. Elbogen and their associates have successfully launched an incomparable book. To begin with, the binding is far more attractive than the Funk and Wagnalls work, and the paper is better. After a "Geleitwort" and some "Vorbemerkungen," a system of transliteration of Semitic sounds is given. The list of abbreviations is very complete, and will be found of great service. A useful list of Hebrew technical terms is given before the list of illustrations.

I have read several of the articles in this volume with detail and great care, and find them accurate, scholarly, dependable and useable. The article on "Abessinien" is particularly good, and we await the one on "Falaschas" referred to. The articles on "Aboda Sara," "Abraham," "Adam Kadmon," "Aagada (Haggada)," and

"Agadische Literatur" are especially worthy of note. The article on "Ägypten" is to my mind the best in this volume. Here the best literature is quoted and theories are brought strictly up to date. The illustrations—as well as those throughout the book—are beyond criticism.

This high-grade publication will take its place at once, not only in Europe but also even in England and America, where is the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, as the standard work on Judaism. The excellence of this great work cannot be too strongly emphasised. Not only the two editors, but also their associates are among the greatest Hebraists in the world, and their names guarantee the scholarship and reliability of future volumes. It would not be seemly to single out any particular names among the great scholars working with Drs. Klatzkin and Elbogen for they are all great Orientalists and Hebraists.

Every great library and every Orientalist throughout the world should own a copy of this great encyclopaedia.

Future volumes of this work will be reviewed in detail according as they appear.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Septuaginta. Societatis Scientiarum Gottingensis auctoritate edidit Alfred Rahlfs. I. *Genesis*. Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1926. \$1.40.

In 1922 a prospectus of this publication containing the Book of Ruth was published. At last we have the first volume in this projected series. The series will consist of sixteen parts covering the whole of the Old Testament as found in the Septuagint. The editor of this series is Dr. Rahlfs and that is enough to guarantee the accuracy of the publication. The text of Genesis is carefully printed with full critical apparatus at the bottom of each page. There are two prolegomena. The first has to do with the history of the text of the Septuagint where one finds in eight sections a most concise and scholarly outline of history. The second prolegomenon discusses the Greek text of Genesis with full account of the manuscripts and of the recension of Origen. In section six of the second prolegomenon the text of this edition is described in detail with the textual apparatus in section seven.

This will be a very valuable and useful edition of the Septuagint.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Seven Years of Old Testament Study. By John A. Maynard. London: Luzac & Co., 1927, pp. 160. 5/-.

This is a critical bibliography of Old Testament Research, covering the years 1918 to 1924. The order followed in the bibliography is: General Introduction, consisting of works on the whole Old Testament, History of Israel, and Critical Questions; Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic; Pentateuch, Prophetical books, Hagiographa, Apocrypha, and Religion. The author is preparing a new bibliography which will begin with 1924 for the General Introduction and with 1925 for the other sections.

Any one desiring to be equipped with a handy and reliable guide to post-war Old Testament study should own this bibliography and its successors. Future instalments of Dr. Maynard's bibliographical work will appear in the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Asatir, the Samaritan Book of the "Secrets of Moses." By Moses Gaster. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1927, pp. 352 + 59.

Not the least important thing about this work is the fact that it is here published for the first time with an introduction, translation and notes. The text in full in Hebrew is also presented. There is thus published here for the first time a Samaritan collection of Biblical Legends, a parallel to the Jewish Midrash and to the pseudepigraphical literature. The publisher of this book claims that it is the oldest book in existence of this kind of literature, and he places the date of the compilation about the middle of the end of the third century B.C.

In his introduction, the editor describes in full this interesting book, showing what its character and contents are and compares it with other parallel literature. One of the most interesting sections in the introduction is that on Enoch, Jubilees, and the Adam books. Interesting also are the editor's observations on the Mandaean affinities. He has also a new point of view as to the origin of the antichrist legend.

It is a book of first-rate importance for the student of early Judaism and the rise of Christianity, and the thorough and scholarly way in which the work has been edited will make this edition a standard one for many years.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Testament of Abraham. By G. H. Box, with the *Testaments of Isaac and Jacob.* By S. Gaselee. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1927, pp. 92. 6/-.

The Testament of Abraham must be distinguished from the Apocalypse of Abraham which was edited in this series by Dr. Box in 1918. In the book before us, we have an excellent account of the Testament of Abraham together with the translation of the Testament of Isaac and the Testament of Jacob. As Dr. James points out, the Testament of Abraham was written in its original form in the second century A.D. by a Christian writer who used the Apocalypse of Peter as one of his sources; but it received its present form not before the ninth or tenth century, and was written in Egypt. Dr. Box also points out the Jewish character and origin of this book. The book, the editor says, is pervaded by a broad philanthropic and humanitarian spirit which would suit Alexandria as the place of its origin. One of the best sections of the book is the account of the theology of the Testament. It is given with some detail and full references. The translation is accompanied by careful and useful notes and the whole work of both Dr. Box and Mr. Gaselee brings the book well up to the standard of others in the same series.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte. Von Wilhelm Graf Baudissin; herausgegeben von Otto Eißfeldt. Gießen: Töpelmann, 1927-1928, 3.-5. Lieferung, pp. 321-480, 1-602, 1-32, each part 8 marks.

This is a continuation of Baudissin's great work. The first two Lieferungen have already been noticed in this *Journal*. At the completion of the work, a full review of the whole will be published.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Mandaean Studies. By Svend Aage Pallis. Milford, Oxford University Press, London, pp. 226. 10s. 6d. net.

The author's thesis is that Mandaism was originally a Gnostic system, influenced by Babylonian religion, only at a later stage, and during a short period. The Persian influence is also not very deep and not earlier than the Sassanid when the Mandaeans migrated

to their present location from some northern location. The Mughtasila are not identical with them. This thesis is well developed, in excellent English, on a sound scholarly foundation. Mr. Pallis' book will evidently be for many years *the* book on the question. We have here and there some statements which we would qualify. For instance the statement that the expression "the second death" is foreign to Jewish literature (p. 89) is not exact. Cf. Strack, *Kommentar zum N. T.*, III 830-831. The seven pillars (p. 100) are of course as the author says not found in Judaism but we find in that religion the "seven upper hosts" invoked when entering the Sukkah (cf. *Ozar Yisrael* I, 219). We may remark on a statement made on p. 215 that Aramaic was certainly spoken in the valley of the Euphrates *before* the 1st century B.C.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

La vie féminine au Mzab. Étude de sociologie musulmane. By A. M. Goichon. Paris: Geuthner, 1927, pp. 362 and 19 plates. Fr. 80.00.

The Kharijite community of the Mzab oases is held together by the strict regulation of the condition of women. Miss Goichon has made of this condition a thorough study. She takes up the life of a Mzabite from birth to death, through girlhood, marriage, motherhood, the influence of magic and religion, games, cooking, perfumes, medicine, jewelry (with many illustrations). There are a number of songs and incantations in Arabic and in Zenatiya (the local Berber dialect), an interesting vocabulary of words relating to the weaving of wool in Arabic and Zenatiya. From the point of view of religion, the documentation on the women who wash the dead before funeral is quite new. The author knows how to observe and to describe. She has made a distinct contribution to our knowledge of a most conservative group in Islam, and in a general way to our knowledge of North African sociology, and even of Zenatiya.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

The Mutawakkili of As-Suyuti. A translation of the Arabic Text with Introduction, Notes and Indices. By William Y. Bell. 218 West 130th Street, New York, 1924.

In this Yale dissertation, Dr. Bell gives the text of Suyuti essay on foreign words in the Qur'an. These words are ascribed to Ethiopic, Persian, Greek, Indian, Syriac, Hebrew, Aramaic, Coptic, Turkish, African and Berber. The author has added many notes, but has not discussed as thoroughly as we wish certain of these loan words, which are quite puzzling. Had he done so, his work, which is useful, might have been of greater value.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Le Calice d'Antioche et les théories du Dr Eisen et la date probable du Calice. By G. de Jerphanion. *Orientalia Christiana*, Vol. VII. Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1926, pp. 200. \$1.50.

The reviewer saw the Chalice of Antioch and even wrote on it in a religious journal a popular article which Father de Jerphanion treats with sarcasm. The reviewer may be allowed to say here that in his article, he had an ending where he expressed some doubt about his own conclusions. This paragraph had to be suppressed by the editor of the paper for technical reasons. Indeed sarcasm is a method of which Father de Jerphanion is too fond. The reviewer holds no brief for Dr. Eisen's scholarly attainments, but he feels that the slurs cast by the author upon them are altogether unwarranted and unnecessary. It is true that Dr. Eisen was not a specialist in the field, but neither is Father de Jerphanion. For that matter none of those who wrote on the chalice were really quite qualified to speak *ex cathedra* except Strzygowski—and he believes that the chalice is a first century work. Dr. Eisen was a newcomer in the field of early Christian Archaeology where Father de Jerphanion is quite at home, but if the chalice be a first century piece and the work of an artist of pagan extraction, the argumentation of de Jerphanion becomes very weak. We wonder why no reference is made in his book on pages 112 ff. to the drawings of chairs in Assyro-Babylonian art collected by Speelers. Unhappily the controversy on the Chalice of Antioch suffers from certain elements, dogmatism on both sides, journalistic propaganda, and the exceedingly high price of Dr. Eisen's two volumes published by Kouchakji, volumes which are magnificent, but contain much that is superfluous, to say the least.

Owing to Kouchakji's refusal to allow reproduction of the plates in Dr. Eisen's work, the illustrations in Father de Jerphanion's work give a very poor idea of the chalice, while on the contrary the author gives very artistic reproductions of other works of art on which he bases his reasoning. While this situation will strengthen the power of his arguments, it is nevertheless much to be regretted since it gives a wrong impression of the intrinsic value of the chalice. The chalice is dated by Father de Jerphanion shortly after 500 A.D. As for the reviewer he frankly does not know, but wavers between the first and fourth century. At any rate he is convinced that the chalice is authentic.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Chinese Painting. By John C. Ferguson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927.

The author's thirty-five years' residence in China would not by itself be a guarantee of authority on so highly specialised a subject as Chinese Painting. But Mr. Ferguson has added to his familiarity with the people and land of China a long and profound study of the arts of that country, in the collections still happily preserved amid war and civil strife, in the Museums of Europe and America, in private collections, and even in Chinese catalogues from which much may be learned as to the painters and paintings of past days.

The Chinese have been less inclined than most nations to keep alive their artistic consciousness by the preservation of old examples in art or architecture. They claim that the real evidence of the artistic is in the spirit of the race rather than in ancient monuments. Happily, however, so far as painting is concerned, many valuable pieces have come down to us from comparatively early times. Certainly, Ch'ien Lung, though an alien ruler, rendered splendid service to the artistic reputation of China when he created those national collections which have saved much of Chinese art from being separated from its native soil. This, however, is no disparagement to the connoisseurs who have secured the presence of many fine specimens of Chinese art in the galleries of London, Paris, Washington and New York.

Mr. Ferguson has gone into his subject with commendable thoroughness. He has explained the sources of his information in the old catalogues, the technique and canons of painting recognized

by the Chinese, the kinds of paper and ink used at different periods. He has told us how the genuineness of pictures is established by study of style, paper, ink, seals, annotations on the painting, and reference in the catalogues. He has described the three main types of picture, the hanging picture, the scroll, and the album picture. He has also traced the connection of early painting to the necessities of map-making and of ritual. The only thing apparently missing is any discussion of the relation of pictorial art to imitative magic and the making of patterns (such as the maeander pattern—an obvious rain-charm), for the purpose of averting evil or bringing good fortune. Of this we have nothing, though there is a reference to the famous dragon picture which brought rain by being spread upon the water.

The most important part of Mr. Ferguson's volume is the learned and detailed history of painting in the successive dynasties of Chinese annals. The T'ang period, with its Northern school of strength and ruggedness, and the Southern school, with its grace and tenderness; the Sung period, with its wonderful landscapists, or painters of "hills and water" (the two requisites for a landscape); the Yuan period, with its reversion to the principles of T'ang; the Ming period, with its genuine national revival; and the Ch'ing period, during which the Manchu emperors did their best to encourage the art of their adopted land; all these are described with lucidity and particularity.

It is plain all through the volume that Chinese painting has much of the intellectual character, and that the scholarly preference for calligraphy has been an influence from the first. Calligraphy, literature and art are associated in China as nowhere else.

An interesting by-path is suggested by reference to the painting of the Jesuit artists, Castiglione and Attiret. Had they been a little greater than they were, Chinese painting might have taken in modern times a new direction.

The question is not raised as to what is to be the future of Chinese art. There are not wanting pessimists who hold that Peking and its treasures may—through neglect—cease in ten years to exist. One can only hope that the artistic spirit of a race which has accomplished so much in the past may be trusted to survive. In any case, Mr. Ferguson's book, with its sumptuous illustrations, should conduce to that desirable end.

HERBERT H. GOWEN

An Historical Grammar of Japanese. By G. B. Sansom C.M.G. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1928.

Such a work as this has been long needed, though perhaps hardly possible in the earlier days of Japanese studies in the West. It has been too often taken for granted by writers that "things Japanese," including language and literary style, have for many centuries been altogether static. With the example of English before us, it should have been obvious that languages do not "stay put," especially when the people who use them enter from time to time upon new and revolutionary experiences. In the case of Japan the language, of course, owes much in former days to China. The introduction of Buddhism in the 6th century A.D. brought with it the need of many terms requiring the use of Chinese ideographs (or logographs, as Mr. Sansom prefers to call them). Hence those awkward adaptations of the Japanese written language to Chinese writing and Chinese syntax. Mr. Sansom traces with great skill the development of the Japanese syllabic characters and their use as "side characters" to provide for the Chinese lack of particles and inflections, and to give precision to the pronunciation. As to whether the Japanese language would have got on better without being tied to the Chinese method of writing, nothing of practical value can now be said. The thing which was done so long ago cannot now be undone—certainly not without loss. Strangely enough, in the matter of vocabulary, Japanese has again borrowed much from China in modern times, even while accepting the civilization of the West. It was easier to represent *electricity* with two Chinese characters (*den-ki*) signifying "lightning-spirit" than to spell out in the *kana* such a transliteration as *erekkuchi-rishichi*.

Of the Japanese borrowings from the English Mr. Sansom says less. He might have illustrated the subject by adducing the modern adoption of *haikara* (high-collar) as a synonym for everything stylish and aristocratic.

As to the changes made in course of time within the Japanese language itself, in grammar, syntax and orthography, Mr. Sansom writes interestingly and with authority. An illustration of the continuous modification of the language (not given by the author) occurs in the *Tzuredzure Gusa* of Kenko, of the 14th century, where the writer, a contemporary of Chaucer, complains: "The everyday speech is growing regrettably bad. Whereas they used to

say, *Kuruma motageyo* and *Hi kakageyo*, the modern people say *moteageyo* and *kakiageyo*." Evidently there were *laudatores temporis acti* even in fourteenth century Japan. But Mr. Sansom has cut the ground from under the feet of their complaint by showing that the language has been a growing concern from first to last.

HERBERT H. GOWEN

Papers on the Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula. By Ivor H. N. Evans. Cambridge University Press, 1927.

This volume is composed of a series of papers on the pagan races of Malaya, on Malay beliefs, on Malay technology, and on some of the antiquities of the Peninsula. Most of them have already appeared in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*, and in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Malayan Branch)*, but they are well worth the collecting into a single volume. It needs hardly to be said that the author has thoroughly qualified himself for his task by long experience officially in the country of which he writes.

Only a few pages are devoted to the beliefs of the Malays, but these include interesting reference to Malay methods of divination by the use of a ring and by floating needles. More space is given to the Negrito peoples of the Peninsula and the adjacent islands. The greater part of the book, however, is taken up with papers of a technological and archaeological character, and it is evident that the writer's chief interest is to be found in this direction.

A great deal of the value of Mr. Evans' book is in relation to the subject of comparative religion and folk-lore. There are some curious examples given of the belief in a "bird-soul" after death, the fear of the spirits of the dead such as prompts the placing of obstacles in the way of their return, the "killing" of articles intended for presentation to the dead, so as to fit them for use in the underworld, superstitions as to the cause and significance of thunder, and superstitions as to the danger of laughing at dogs and cats. But such has been the racial and religious intermingling from early times in the Peninsula that it is exceedingly difficult in most cases to decide what is primitive and what is due to Hinduism, Buddhism or Muhammadanism. It is, however, clear that there is throughout the Federated Malay States a substratum of the neo-

lithic which finds ample illustration in the archaeological remains. The volume is illustrated by upwards of forty excellent plates which do much to elucidate the text.

HERBERT H. GOWEN

The Nirukta, Its Place in Old Indian Literature, Its Etymologies. By Hannes Sköld. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, Oxford University Press, 1926.

The books known as the *Vedangas*, or "limbs of the Veda," deal with the subjects of religious practice, phonetics, grammar, etymology, metre and astronomy. Of these not the least interesting is the work of Yaska on Etymology known as the *Nirukta*. Dr. Sköld is not ready to assign more than an approximate date to Yaska, but most scholars agree that he lived some time earlier than the grammarian Pāṇini, who, in turn, is generally assigned to somewhere near 500 B.C.

The place of the *Nirukta* as "the earliest specimen of Sanskrit prose of the classical type" makes the work of Dr. Sköld well worth while, especially as a dictionary of Old Indian has been badly needed for some time.

The author's original intention, he tells us, was merely to supply the need for an etymological dictionary of Old Indian, but, while working on this, his attention became more and more engrossed with philological rather than with linguistic problems. In consequence, Part I of the present work is philological and seeks to establish the relation of the *Nirukta* with Vedic literature generally. Part II is the vocabulary of etymologies originally planned. What is here attempted may be summed up in the author's words: "Many etymologies, which were made on an Indo-European basis, have proved to be wrong, and the words have found better and more natural explanations in Indian phonological history itself. Many other words will probably appear to be autochthonous."

Dr. Sköld has necessarily left many of his problems much where he found them, but upon others he has cast valuable light and his collection of material will be exceedingly useful to scholars who may resume discussion of the subject.

The volume is printed through the generosity of the Royal Society of Letters at Lund who are to be congratulated on the publication.

HERBERT H. GOWEN

An outline history of Japan. By Herbert H. Gowen. New York and London: Appleton, 1927, p. 477, 1 map. \$4.00.

This is *the* book in the History of Japan. It is interesting, accurate, fair, well balanced, excellently written. There are here and there quotations from Japanese poets which makes one wish that Dr. Gowen gave us sometime a companion volume on Japanese Literature. The introduction treats the question "Why Study Japanese history." The average reader will be especially interested in the last third of the book which comes down to our own time. If a certain brand of American politicians were constitutionally able to learn, we wish they could read Dr. Gowen's book. It would help them to avoid some serious blunders in dealing with things Japanese. Dr. Gowen has added to his book with some diplomatic texts, an index, and a classified bibliography. The large colored map of Japan and its dependencies will be found most valuable.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Why Religion. By Horace M. Kallen. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1927, pp. 316. \$3.00.

The author of "The Book of Job as a Greek Tragedy," who was a pupil and is a disciple of Prof. William James, has written a most interesting book corroborating the view reached by James as to the reality of the supernatural. He takes up in addition the great questions, namely, what valid function is discharged in life situations when man appeals to the supernatural, and what do recent developments in biochemistry offer to make man's experience of the supernatural consistently thinkable? To the first and more practical is devoted the major portion of the book. The author finds the essential redemptive act to be one of readjustment to a world in which change has wrought a crisis. Religion, he says, is an outreach by which man continually integrates his own personality.

The book is a very uneven one. There are some chapters that are excellently done. One is the last chapter on the future where, among other things, he says that we do not experience the supernatural through one or all of our senses. The supernatural is not a thing to be seen, heard, smelt, touched, tasted. It belongs, he says, to the metaphysical ultimates and shows the spiritual charac-

teristics of the supernatural, and he insists that the ultimate question is not one of the survival of religion; men being what they are and the world what it is there will be religion while men are. But the ultimate question is whether there can be persisting religion without churches, that is, whether a cult or creed can survive in a free religious society. There are other chapters in the book that are trivial and practically worthless in so far as the author's argument is concerned. Such it seems to this reviewer are 9 and 10. But another splendid chapter is the first, on the perennial Armageddon. The book is provocative of much thought and deserves careful reading, although it would have been stronger if a few of the chapters had been omitted.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Religions past and present. By Sir Bertram C. A. Windle. New York and London: Century Co., pp. 318. \$3.00.

The author's knowledge of religions of the present is apt to be sketchy. We find on p. 263 the statement that the Abyssinian claims to be descendants of David through his relations with the Queen of Sheba. Next page we hear that Islam was definitely designed to combat Christianity. On p. 265 that the Koran urges on the faithful the duty of subduing the Christian world and compelling it to become Moslem on pain of death. We find references to Ninib of Shirgalla (p. 157). Hammurabi is credited with making Babylon his capital "in the plenitude of his power" (p. 157). We find a reference to the Book of Maccabaeus (p. 98). Errors are not so glaring in the field of primitive religion, which the author knows better, but even there, his scholarship is often loose. This book is clearly not to be recommended to the unwary, although there are many places where the author does a good piece of work by attacking the comparative evolutionist school.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Man, God, and Immortality, Thoughts on Human Progress. Passages Chosen from the Writings of Sir James G. Frazer. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927, pp. 437. \$3.00.

Sir James has for the convenience of readers revised and edited some of the more general conclusions to be found in his great

work, "The Golden Bough." With the general reader in mind, he has appended some foot-notes, made a fairly full index and explained some words. He does not pretend to exhibit even in an outline the contents of the whole history of man's progress at any stage of his mental and social development. To quote his own words, "All that I have attempted in the present volume is to crystalize, as it were, the results of my studies into an optic glass which may afford the general reader some momentary glimpses of the long march of humanity on the upward road from savagery to civilization. The march is still in progress and no doubt will continue without a halt when we are gone. Its destination is unknown, hidden in the mists of the future." The volume is intended to serve as a clew to guide students through the mazes of his larger works.

The one difficulty which the reader will find in using such a book is that certain statements will appear without substantiation, due to the elimination of illustrative material. This is particularly true in his chapter on the "Age of Magic" for in a sense, magic does not belong only to backward states of human society, but may be found in the thinking of the best people in the most civilized countries in the twentieth century. Indeed magic makes up a considerable percentage of the customs and ideas of our time. However, there are many excellent things in this summary of Sir James' theories. Particularly fine are sections 164 and 176.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Difnar of the Coptic Church. Part II. Edited by De Lacy O'Leary. London: Luzac & Co. 1928, pp. 119. 12/-.

This is the second part of the Antiphonarium of the Coptic Church, edited from the Vatican Codex Copt. Borgia 59. This manuscript as well as the one used in Part I came from the Wadin-Natron, and both represent the same liturgical use. These antiphons are some of them of great interest. For example, the second one for Tubeḥ 6th (Jan. 1st), on Circumcision, indicates that if Christ had not been circumcised the Jews would have put him to death. The texts themselves are reproduced with Dr. O'Leary's accustomed accuracy and clearness.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte. Von Wilhelm Graf Baudissin. Herausgegeben von Otto Ensfeldt. Sechste Lieferung (dritter Teil, Bogen 11-20). Gießen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1928. Mk. 8.—.

This the sixth section of Baudissin's great work on Kyrios continues the fourth section, it being a continuation of Part III. Carrying on with a discussion of the God of the patriarchal legends, where the Vierte Lieferung left off, this Sechste Lieferung carries the work on into the third chapter of the II. Abteilung, where the author is describing the fatherhood of God. The work is performed with the same care and thorough learning which characterized the earliest parts of this important work.

S. A. B. M.

Kleinasiatische Forschungen. Edited by F. Sommer and H. Ehelolf. Band I, Heft 1. Weimar: Hermann Bohlaus Nachfolger.

This new periodical covers the field of Asiatic research. The first number contains articles by Kretschmer on the name of the Lycians, by Kahle and Sommer, on the Lydian Aramaic bilingual inscription of Sardis, by Friedrich, opposing Forrer's theory of the Achaïans in Boghazkeuy archives. Another article by Gotze on Hittite Geography also criticizes Forrer. Sommer writes on the Hittite uarani, and Ehelolf on Hittite lexicography. This new periodical will be welcome by those interested in the new science of Hittitology and by historians who rightly feel that the early development of Hither Asia are of untold importance.

J. A. M.

A Unique Statue of Senmut. By T. George Allen. Reprinted from the *AJSL*, October, 1927, and sent with the Compliments of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

The statue represents Senmut, statesman, architect, administrator, and chief favourite of Hatshepsut, holding the queen's little daughter Nefrure in his arms. The inscription is herein translated and a clear description is given of the nature and value of the statue.

S. A. B. M.

Some Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library; The Cult of King Dungi during the Third Dynasty of Ur; A Sumerian Wage-list of the Ur Dynasty. Reprinted from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 8, No. 2; Vol. 11, No. 2; and Vol. 9, No. 1, respectively.

These articles are all by the Reverend T. Fish and show a thorough grasp of Sumerian texts. The inscriptions themselves are interesting and useful.

S. A. B. M.

The Indian Materia Medica. By K. M. Nadkarni. Bombay: P. O. Box 3558, 1927, pp. 1142 + CLXIX + LXXXVIII. 18/- net.

This is a laudable attempt to emphasize the use by Indians of their own indigenous drugs, and much which the author has to say against Western drugs, is very true. This is a very thorough, painstaking, and systematic piece of work, and deserves the attention not only of Indian students, but also of all non-Indians interested in the Orient and Oriental science, both ancient and modern.

S. A. B. M.

Nieuwjaarsfeest en Koningsdag in Babylon en in Israël. Door F. M. Th. Böhl. Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1927, pp. 34. Kr. 0.75.

Dr. Böhl in his own clear and systematic way presents in brief form a keen discussion of the Feast of New Year in Babylon and in Israel. This paper deserves the most careful perusal.

S. A. B. M.

L'Emploi du Bronze dans l'Orient Classique. Par A. Hertz. Reprinted from the *Revue Archéologique*, V^e Série, T. XXV, pp. 83.

This article contains a detailed study of the subject under consideration in Mesopotamia and in the ancient lands bordering on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean.

S. A. B. M.

Clavis Cuneorum sive Lexicon Signorum Assyriorum. Compositum a G. Howardy. Pars II, Ideogrammata Rariora. London: Humphrey Milford, 1927, pp. 385-481. 5/- net.

This part is a continuation of this useful sign-list. Mr. Howardy deserves the thanks of every Assyriologist, and Mr. Humphrey Milford's backing of scientific and oriental ventures is well known and widely appreciated.

S. A. B. M.

Von der Bedeutung der Naturwissenschaften für die Ägyptologie und umgekehrt. Von Ludwig Keimer. Reprinted from the *Archiv für Geschichte der Mathematik, der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, 10. Band. Verlag von F. C. W. Vogel in Leipzig, 1927.

An important paper on the subject under consideration, with the author's reasonable interpretation of the famous Horus scene from Hierakonpolis, which the author discussed so clearly in *Aegyptus*, VII, 169-188.

S. A. B. M.

La Chronologie des trois premières dynasties babyloniennes. Par F. Thureau-Dangin. *L'aigle Imgi, Chars divins, Bibliographie.* Par F. Thureau-Dangin. Reprints from *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. 24, No. 4. Paris: Leroux, 1927.

Attention is hereby called to these two important articles.

S. A. B. M.

Georges Schweinfurth et ses Recherches sur la Flore pharaonique. Par Ludwig Keimer. Reprinted from *Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne*, Tome I, Fasc. 3-4, 1927.

S. A. B. M.

Le Potamogeton Lucens L. dans l'Égypte Ancienne. Par Ludwig Keimer. Reprinted from *Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne*, Tome I, Fasc. 3-4, 1927.

In this able article of Dr. Keimer we have a discussion of the *Potamogeton Lucens* L. which the author concludes existed in ancient Egypt appearing frequently in the representations of different epochs in Egyptian history. In the Egyptian texts the author finds two names used for the plant; first of all a special name, and secondly a general form which seems to have been applied also to an aquatic plant.

S. A. B. M.

Conjecturen bij Boek der Spreuken. Door B. Gemser. Reprinted from the *Nieuw Theologische Studiën*, 10en Jaargang, Afl. 10, pp. 289-293.

Gedachtenassociaties in het Spreukenboek, een Middel tot Tekstfixeering. Door B. Gemser. Reprinted from *Onder Eigen Vaandel*, 2en Jaargang, Afl. 2, pp. 137-151.

These two keen studies in the Book of Proverbs deserve careful reading. They contain many interesting observations.

S. A. B. M.